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A REVIEW (QUARTERLY).

EDITED BY

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III.

B



ANONYMOUS DOTTED PRINT OF ST. ROCH.
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EARLY PESTBLÄTTER.¹



ALL students of primitive engraving should be familiar with the delightful volume, 'Neujahrswünsche des xv. Jahrhunderts,' issued by Messrs. Heitz and Mündel in 1899. They have now produced a second series of reproductions, uniform in appearance with the first, which illustrate the measures prescribed by popular devotion to avert the terrors of the plague. The remedies consisted almost exclusively in the invocation of certain saints, and no one who is acquainted with the characteristics of popular art in the fifteenth century will be surprised at the number of prints bearing on the subject of the plague which the editor has brought together. The introduction shows by statistics, more or less trustworthy, how large a part was filled by the plague, and the dread of it, in the life of Europe from 1347 to 1500. The latter half of that period coincides with the rise of engraving, both on copper and on

¹ 'Pestblätter des xv. Jahrhunderts. Herausgegeben von Paul Heitz mit einleitendem Text von W. L. Schreiber. Strassburg, Heitz & Mündel, 1901.'

wood; and wood engraving, the more popular branch of the graphic arts, reflects with wonderful completeness, considering the scarcity of extant prints, the habits and modes of thought of the people who patronized it. Scientific remedies, so far, at least, as our documents go, were little in demand. There are three type-printed broadsides among these facsimiles which recommend a certain *regimen* in time of plague, but only one attempts to prescribe for a patient actually infected. The leading idea was that God sent pestilence as a visitation for sin, and that His wrath could be mitigated by the intercession of His Son, of the Blessed Virgin, and of St. Antony, St. Sebastian and St. Roch. Other saints invoked at certain times, or in certain localities, for the same purpose, were St. Anne, St. Adrian, St. Valentine and St. Quirinus.

Herr Schreiber, the author of the introduction, has traced with great ingenuity the transference of ideas which connects the first group of saints, by no very obvious process of reasoning, with the plague. The starting-point is the 'Tau' cross, illustrated by plate 1 of the facsimiles. It appears that 'Tau' is the Hebrew word for the 'mark' set upon the foreheads of certain men appointed to be saved, in Ezekiel, ix. 4. The authors of the Septuagint version transliterated the word instead of translating it, and its identity with the name of T, the Greek letter, combined with the shape of that letter, caused the idea to get abroad that the mark in question was a cross. The same interpretation was applied to the 'seal' on the foreheads of God's servants in Rev. vii. 3, as may be seen by Dürer's woodcut, and more

especially to the mark of blood upon the lintel, in Exod. xii. 23, which preserved the inmates of the house from destruction in the tenth plague of Egypt. Hence the superstitious idea that the letter T marked upon a house acted as a charm against plague. But this same T was already a symbol of St. Antony the hermit; hence his invocation for plague, as well as for 'St. Antony's fire,' the malady in which his aid was chiefly sought.

The mark T is also found on some woodcuts of St. Sebastian, but the arrow, the instrument of his martyrdom, is at the root of the association of this saint with plague. The arrow is coupled with pestilence in Ps. xci. 5, and God, as the sender of pestilence, is accordingly represented with an arrow in His hand. Thus we see Him in a famous picture by Benozzo Gozzoli at San Gimignano, in which the townspeople take refuge under St. Sebastian's mantle from the plague of 1464, represented by arrows in the hands of the Almighty and of destroying angels round Him. Other angels, who bear up the mantle, catch the arrows in their hands and break them, by the merit of the intercession of Christ and His mother, who kneel at the Father's feet. The same subject, simplified, is represented in several woodcuts of this collection, in which St. Sebastian does not appear. Christ and the Virgin kneel, with suppliants behind them; or the Virgin alone spreads her mantle over her votaries, while the saints of the Dominican order obtain her intercession by the devotion of the rosary. In this set of prints the arrows in the hand of the Almighty are three, and one of the wood-

cuts names them expressly as 'pestilencz, teurūg, kryeg' (pestilence, famine, war) in allusion to the choice offered to David by Gad (2 Sam. xxiv. 13).

St. Anne is introduced by reason of her close connection with the Virgin, and because a special devotion to her followed the elevation of her festival to the first rank which Frederick the Wise of Saxony obtained from the Pope in 1494.

The connection of St. Roch with the plague is more logical. He was a medical student of Montpellier, his native town, who gave all his goods to the poor, and went to Italy, where the plague was raging in 1348, expressly to devote his labour and skill to tending the sick. He at length caught the plague himself, though he did not die of it, as Herr Schreiber supposes, but lived to return to Montpellier. His relics were stolen thence by a set of Venetian conspirators late in the fifteenth century, for the benefit of Venice, whose trade with the Levant entailed a constant risk of infection. 'Le très glorieux amy de Dieu, Monseigneur Saint Roch, vray preservateur de la peste,' is his full title in the quaint proclamation of his festival, beginning 'Bonnes gens plaise vous scavoir,' on a Parisian broadside (plate 25) now at Brunswick. It is hardly so quaint as the description of St. Quirinus as a marshal (plate 35).

Herr Schreiber has proved in his indispensable, though not infallible, 'Manuel de l'Amateur' how wide is his acquaintance with early relief-cuts in all the collections of Europe. The field from which examples have been chosen for this volume extends from Vienna to London, from Ravenna to

Stockholm, and many small libraries are represented in addition to the more accessible collections in the German capitals. The reproductions are not strictly confined to works of the fifteenth century, and the title of the book is therefore a little misleading. The dates assigned to certain examples need revision, but with this reservation they will be found valuable to students of early printing, as well as to collectors or judges of prints. They are of the size of the originals, and printed on careful imitations of old paper, while many of them are coloured by hand. Whether the success of the colouring justifies the labour, and the addition to the cost of the book, which it entails, is a question on which opinions will differ. The process inevitably suggests two kinds of doubt: whether all impressions of the reproduction are coloured alike, and whether all, or any, reproduce with approximate exactness the original colouring. I have compared two sets of reproductions, and found that they stood the first test well. The second test was a comparison of one set of copies with such originals as are at hand in the British Museum. Here the result was less satisfactory. In plate 14 the fidelity of the colouring is wonderful; the facsimile, indeed, would be perfect, if the original were in perfect preservation. That, unhappily, is not the case. Several serious injuries have been so ably disguised, that the most critical eye could not discover that a restorer had been at work. The skill and taste exercised in filling gaps are beyond praise, if the legitimacy of the operation be granted. My own opinion is that in a scientific publication the truth should not be

shirked for the sake of decorative effect. In plate 10 and plate 27 the colours are too pale; in plate 4 the flat, ugly tint employed is a dull substitute for crimson protected by a coat of varnish. In the plate last mentioned, Raphael's girdle, and the folds of his robe gathered up beneath it, have entirely disappeared, so that the garment appears far more archaic than it does in the original. The colour of plate 6 is charming; since the original belongs to Herr Paul Heitz himself, I am bound to suppose that the old 'Briefmaler,' and not the copyist, is responsible for arraying Dominicans in pale brown and white. A comparison of the 'Martyrdom of St. Sebastian' at Munich (plate 18) with a collotype from the same original, reveals discrepancies in the outline of the coloured parts. I have a more serious quarrel with plate 19, which reproduces a later copy from the same design. The block on which this copy is cut is preserved in the British Museum with Schreiber 1809 cut on the other side; it is in bad condition, and the modern impressions taken from it show numerous breakages in the lines. The woodcut at Nuremberg, here reproduced, is one of these modern impressions, for Dr. Boesch was kind enough to send me a tracing of it, which showed the same defects. These have been made good in the reproduction, which is, therefore, misleading to the serious student. The only genuine old impression from this block is in the Willshire Collection, now in the Guildhall Library, and is coloured. That collection, no doubt, was inaccessible at the time when this volume was being prepared; but no such excuse

can be made for the omission of the large 'Tau' with a crucifix, in the British Museum, which is not, as Herr Schreiber states in his 'Manuel' (No. 931), a 'second state' of the woodcut at Berlin (plate 1), but a different, finer, and probably earlier woodcut from the same design. The extremities of the cross are pointed and without decoration; the nail is absent; the text is in part different, and is printed with the type of Johann Othmar of Augsburg. The leonine hexameter,

'Thau super hos postes signatos terreat hostes,'

printed at the head of the British Museum woodcut, proves that the latter was meant to be actually pasted on a door as a charm against pestilence.

A few details in Herr Schreiber's commentary on the plates call for correction or supplement. I should be at a loss to imagine why he suspected plate 6 of being founded on an Italian original, were it not for his curious misreading of one of the inscriptions. He has perverted the legend 'Scā v'go maria m̃r dei,' cut in a fairly legible imitation of cursive script on Our Lady's halo, into 'Scā vgo ajazia' ('Manuel,' 1012 b), or 'St. Maria von Ajazio,' as he now prints it. We may congratulate ourselves on a narrow escape from the invention of a Corsican school of wood engraving. 'Alexander II.' (p. 9) should be 'Alexander VI.' The 'St. Sebastian' (plate 10) is copied, as Prof. Lehrs has pointed out, with the necessary modifications, from the 'St. Quirinus' (plate 35), a delightful Flemish engraving, to which the line-block does

scant justice. The early Italian engravings in the book are inadequately reproduced by the same process. The little 'St. Roch' (plate 28) belongs to a set of woodcuts at Vienna, of which seven are extant, described in the 'Manuel' under No. 1174. Two of these, 'St. Acatius' and 'St. Jerome,' bear a monogram composed of a double A, and there seems to be no reason to doubt that they are early works of Altdorfer. The whole series is included, as such, in the volume of Altdorfer's woodcuts in facsimile which Mr. Sturge Moore has edited for the Unicorn Press. In addition to Weissenburger's broadside (at Munich) with woodcuts of St. Sebastian and St. Roch (plate 31), I should have liked to see another, containing a larger woodcut of St. Roch and a Latin poem on his life, with the name of the same printer and the date, 1505, which is preserved in the Imperial Library at Vienna. Another representation of St. Roch, which had, perhaps, as good a right to a place in the volume as the very beautiful 'Schrotblatt' at Ravenna (plate 24), is reproduced as the frontispiece to this review from one of the two impressions in the British Museum (Schr. 2723). It has neither the beauty of line nor the rich decoration of the other print; but the figure of the saint is refined and his costume is delicately rendered with all the resources of this peculiar method of white-line engraving on metal. There is no prayer or inscription, beyond the saint's name, attached to the print; but St. Roch appears with his usual emblems as patron of the plague-stricken, the angel who dressed his wound and the dog that brought

his daily loaf, when anguish drove him from the pest-house at Piacenza.

CAMPBELL DODGSON.

** * * The following notes on the plates containing printed texts are kindly contributed by Mr. Proctor :*

No. 1. Probably these types are those of Joh. Knoblauch of Strassburg, about 1506, but the facsimile does not represent the type with sufficient clearness (perhaps due to the condition of the original) to be certain.

No. 7. This is printed by Martin Landsberg at Leipzig. The combination of short hyphen with the later form of b inclines me to date it about 1515.

No. 20. This is rightly assigned to Günther Zainer about 1475-7.

No. 25. This Paris-printed leaf seems clearly of the sixteenth century, and about 1510-15, unless the mention in the text of 'monseigneur le cardinal de Gurce' be held to fix a date earlier than Sept., 1505, when Perault died. His successor, Lang, was created cardinal in 1511.

No. 31. The types are those used at Nürnberg (not Landshut) by Weissenburger; the larger from 1505 onwards, the other from 1503 to 1508 only. Hence the date may be fixed as 1505-8.

No. 40. This is of some interest typographically. The Erfurt type mentioned in the introduction is not a real analogy: but the 'Lumen animae,' dated 1479, July 7th (Hain *10331) is printed in the 'typi Reyseriani,' except on the first leaf and at the end, where the capitals are mixed with those of a

more gothic fount. In No. 40 both these founts of capitals are used intermixed, but the lower case is neither that of the 'Lumen animae' nor that of the gothic capitals when used alone (see Type Facs. Soc. 1900 1). It is like no other type known to me except the third of the founts of H. Knoblochtzer at Strassburg (see facs. in Schorbach and Spirgatis), which has a similar h, but differs in other letters, such as g. The present sheet probably, like the 'Lumen animae,' is to be assigned to the Reutlingen school of printers.

No. 41. This undated broadside by Hans Schaur is of interest as showing a type hitherto, I believe, unrecorded.

AN EXAMINATION OF SOME EXISTING COPIES OF HAYWARD'S 'LIFE AND RAIGNE OF KING HENRIE IV.'



WHEN the unfortunate Earl of Essex was tried for high treason in the year 1600, one of the counts of the indictment was that of allowing his name to be used in connection with a book, at which Her Majesty had taken great offence. The book thus referred to was Dr. Iohn Hayward's 'Life and Raigne of King Henrie IV.,' published by Iohn Wolfe the printer in 1599, dedicated to the Earl of Essex. While there is no doubt that Essex owed his fate to his rebellious actions, this book added fuel to the fire, and played no small part in influencing his judges. Both the author and the printer were punished for their rashness, the first being thrown into the Tower, where it is believed he remained until the Queen's death, while the second was imprisoned for some weeks.

Some interesting documents referring to this matter are preserved among the State Papers (Domestic Series, 1600). These include the examinations of both author and printer by Attorney-General Coke, the so-called confessions by Dr.

14 HAYWARD'S 'LIFE AND RAIGNE

Hayward, and the manuscript of a proposed 'Epistle Apologeticall,' which was never published.

The examination of John Wolfe the printer is perhaps the most valuable of these papers. As some of my readers may remember this member of the Stationers' Company stands out prominently amongst the men of the latter end of the sixteenth century, not so much on account of his ability as a printer, but from the active part which he played at a crisis in the history of the Company, and also from the position which he held as official printer to the City of London. It was John Wolfe who, in company with Roger Ward, bade defiance for a long time to those who, by securing privileges from the crown, were gradually absorbing the whole of the trade. Fearless of pains and penalties, he, in company with Roger Ward aforesaid and others, boldly printed other men's copies, imitating their marks and devices without scruple. It was John Wolfe who stirred up the opposition and kept it alive with fiery speeches, vowing that he would work a reformation in the printing trade similar to that which Luther had worked in religion. In this he would probably have succeeded, but the Company, realizing how dangerous a man it had to deal with, practically bought him over. Not long afterwards John Wolfe is found occupying the post of official printer to the City of London, and making searches for illegal presses and seditious books.

He was the printer of the first edition of Stow's 'Survey of London,' of Greene's 'Quip for an Upstart Courtier,' of more than one of Gabriel Harvey's satires, besides many voyages and travels

and pamphlets on foreign affairs. His address at this time was Pope's Head Alley, off Lombard Street.

In his examination Wolfe said that when Dr. Hayward brought him the manuscript of 'Henry IV.' it had neither dedication nor epistle to reader. Believing that the book would sell better if it had a dedication to some man of honour and reputation, Wolfe suggested the name of the Earl of Essex, whose military achievements on the continent had already gained him fame. Moreover, as the book treated of Irish history, and the Earl was about to go to Ireland as governor, he was the most fit person to whom such a book could be dedicated. Accordingly Dr. Hayward wrote a short dedication in Latin to the Earl of Essex, and also an 'Epistle' to the Reader signed 'A. P.' The book was then put to press, and was finished in February, 1599. The printer went on to say that a day or two after the publication he took a copy and gave it himself to the Earl of Essex, who expressed neither approval nor disapproval of what had been done, and though Wolfe waited upon the earl several times to know his pleasure in the matter, he was never able to see him. Meanwhile the book had taken the town. To quote the printer's own words, 'Never any book was better sould or more desired that ever he printed, then this book was.' In two or three weeks between five and six hundred copies had been sold. But the authorities had taken offence. The court party, hostile to Essex, had endeavoured to show that passages in the book were aimed at the overthrow

of the Queen and government, and the printer received an order from the Archbishop of Canterbury to cut out the dedication. He declared that he immediately obeyed the order, and the remainder of the edition, another five or six hundred copies, was issued without the dedication, and was all sold within a very few days afterwards. As there was still a great demand for the book, Wolfe put a second edition in hand at Easter, in which many things were altered, and for which Dr. Hayward wrote an 'Epistle Apologeticall.' But before the 'Epistle' was printed and before the whole impression of fifteen hundred copies was finished, the wardens of the Stationers' Company got wind of the new edition, and in the Whitsun holidays seized the whole stock and delivered it to the Bishop of London, by whose order it was burnt, so that not a single copy of this second edition ever reached the hands of the public. Wolfe himself, as I have said, was thrown into prison for several weeks.

Such was the printer's account of the publication of this book. Summed up briefly, it appears that the first edition consisted of about twelve hundred copies, from half of which the Latin dedication to the Earl of Essex was cut out. A second edition of fifteen hundred copies was printed but never published.

A contemporary record of this book is preserved to us in the letters of John Chamberlain, published by the Camden Society. Writing to his friend, Dudley Carleton, on the 1st March, 1599, he said, 'For lacke of better matter I send you three or foure toyes to passe away the time. . . . The treatise

OF KING HENRIE IV.'

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of Henry the Fourth is reasonable well written. The author is a young man of Cambridge, toward the civil lawe. Here hath ben much descanting about it, why such a storie should come out at this time, and many exceptions taken, especially to the Epistle which was a short thing in Latin dedicated to the Earle of Essex, and objected to him in good earnest, whereuppon there was commandement it sholde be cut out of the booke ; yet I have got you a transcript of it that you may picke out the offence if you can, for my part I can find no such bugges words, but that everything is as it is taken.'

We have here then a distinct confirmation of the printer's statement, and it is clear that the copy which Chamberlain sent for the perusal of his friend had not got the dedication to the Earl of Essex.

This statement of Wolfe's is so decisive that it proves that Professor Arber's assertion, that three editions of the book were issued in 1599, must be mistaken.

We have also to notice a statement made by Mr. W. C. Hazlitt, in his 'Collections and Notes, 1867-1876' (p. 205), concerning this book, which opens up a much wider field. Mr. Hazlitt there says : 'Of this exceedingly common book, the copies though all purporting to be printed by John Wolfe in 1599, vary in date from 1599 to 1630, the book having been popular, and having been re-issued from time to time with the old imprint retained.'

Mr. Hazlitt does not support this statement with any evidence, and it is worth no more than can be brought in support of it.

III.

C

18 HAYWARD'S 'LIFE AND RAIGNE

The first part of it is true enough. Copies of this book are numerous. The British Museum possesses no less than six, and almost every one of our large libraries possesses one or more copies of it. When we consider the destruction of books which has been going on during the last three centuries this is very remarkable, and seems to prove that the average edition of even the most popular books of the sixteenth century, must have been only five or six hundred copies, if so much.

An examination of some seventeen copies shows that they agree absolutely in one respect. Every one of them contains the Latin dedication to the Earl of Essex. This may be a mere coincidence, but at least it is singular that the majority of the copies lying in our public libraries should agree in this particular. The title and collation of the book are as follows :

'The | First Part | of | The Life and | raigne of
King Henrie | the IIII. | Extending to the end of
the first | yeare of his raigne. | Written by I. H. |
[Device.] | Imprinted at London by Iohn Wolfe,
and | are to be solde at his shop in Pope's head
Alley, | neere to the Exchange, 1599.'

Quarto, Sigs. A-U in fours = 80 leaves, *i.e.* four leaves without pagination + pp. 150 + one blank leaf. The work begins with the title-page, as above, verso blank. The Latin dedication follows on A2, and on the verso is a list of 'Faultes escaped in the Printing.' This is succeeded by the Epistle, 'A. P. to the Reader,' occupying A3-A4. Then follows the work, pp. 1-149, the verso of the last leaf of the text being occupied by the colophon :

'London : | Printed by John Wolfe and are | to be fold, at his shop in Popes | head alley, neere the | Exchange. | 1599.' The last leaf of the volume was blank. The text was printed in a small roman type, making 35 lines to a full page, with a running title, 'The life and raigne of K. Henrie the fourth,' in bold italic, and catchwords to each page.

In these particulars all the copies are alike and, judged by their general appearance, they might all belong to the same edition. But there are curious typographical variations in them, which are sufficient to warrant the question whether they point to subsequent reprints, as Mr. Hazlitt suggests, or whether they may all be taken as part of the twelve hundred copies which Wolfe printed in 1599.

To begin with, they may be broadly divided into two classes: (1) those having on the title-page the printer's device of the fleur-de-lys, and (2) those having in its place a square of printers' ornaments on the title-page.

In the first class there are three varieties, which may be thus described,

(a) With errata unaltered, but with slight typographical inaccuracies, such as the spelling of the printer's name in the imprint on the title-page as 'Iohn Woolfe,' and the reversal of the figures in the pagination of p. 19 (see British Museum copies, G. 4633 (2) and 10805, b. 9).

(b) With errata unaltered, but with the printer's name spelt correctly on the title-page, and the pagination correct throughout (Lambeth Library, 31. 2. 29).

(c) With errata *corrected*, though the list of 'Faultes' is retained on the verso of A2, with printer's name correctly spelt, and with pages correctly numbered (British Museum, G. 1938, uncut; Lambeth, 31 2. 36, uncut; Bodl., 4to, H. 13 Art. Seld.; Bodl. Wood 486 (6); Sion College Library; and Trinity College, Cambridge).

Undoubtedly *a b* were among the first issues of the work from Wolfe's press. But in *c* we are face to face with considerable alterations. The 'Faultes escaped in the printing' are corrected throughout the book, and although the number of lines to a full page and the catchwords are the same as in the earlier issues, several of the pages have been completely reset. To take only two examples, on p. 102 of the *a* and *b* copies, towards the bottom of the page, it will be found that the forme had shifted and several of the lines are irregular. This is corrected in the later issue. So again on p. 119 of the earlier copies line 10 begins with the word 'sorte' and ends with the word 'myght,' whereas in the later issue it begins with the word 'that' and ends with the word 'them,' and for several succeeding lines the setting is altered.

It is interesting to notice that both the British Museum and Lambeth copies of this issue are in an uncut state. On the covers of the Lambeth copy are the arms of Archbishop Abbot.

The copies found in Series No. 2, having the square of printers' ornaments on the title-page, may be divided into two classes, thus:

(a) Those having the imprint on title-page, 'John Wolfe, and | and [*sic*] are' etc., and an

ornamental initial of conventional design at the commencement of the Epistle to the Reader.

Copies of these are in the British Museum, G. 1196; G. 1846 (2); 291 c. 25; and Dyce and Forster Library, South Kensington.

(b) Those with the imprint on the title-page, correctly printed 'John Wolfe, and | are' etc., but with errors in the pagination and with the ornamental initial on A3, the same as in Series 1, *i.e.* showing two figures, and surrounded with a border. Of this there are copies in the Bodleian, Douce H. H. 222, the Dyce and Forster Library, South Kensington, and Lincoln's Inn Library. In all the copies of this series the 'Fautes escaped' have been corrected, and the text shows the resetting noticeable in copy *c* of Series No. 1. The initials and type also show more signs of wear in these copies.

It is evident then that Series 2 were printed either concurrently with copy *c* of the first series or subsequently. But does the evidence of the copies in Series 2 warrant the statement that they were reprints, and that some of them were printed as late as 1630? I do not think it does; on the contrary, I think all the variations which I have shown are consistent with the copies all being of the first edition of 1599. The printer has left it on record that the book had a much larger sale than he expected, and consequently we may take it that the first impression consisted of perhaps five hundred copies. Finding that the book was selling so well, he in all probability set a second and perhaps a third press to work at it, and this would account

for the correction of the errata, and the resetting of the type, as well as for the substitution of printers' ornaments on the title-page instead of the device, and for the use of different initial letters. The typographical errors in the imprint and pagination were clearly due to the rapidity which the compositors had to use.

Again the popularity of the book in 1599 was directly due to its supposed connection with public affairs at that time and to its dedication to the Earl of Essex, whose strained relations with the Queen were probably well known. But with the death of Essex, and the death of the Queen two years later, the public interest in the book would naturally cease. For the very same reasons there could have been nothing to deter any printer who afterwards wished to reprint it, from placing his name on the title-page.

But supposing, for the sake of argument, that some printer had wished to reprint the work, should we expect to find him in possession of exactly similar type to that used twenty or thirty years previously and of exactly the same initial letters, head and tail pieces and ornaments as those used by Wolfe in 1599? I think this highly improbable.

That the work was reprinted in 1642 we know, but it was in duodecimo form, and was only part of a book entitled, 'The Lives and raignes of Henry the Third and Henry the Fourth, Kings of England. Written by Sir Robert Cotton and Sr. John Hayward Knights,' and bore the imprint 'London. printed for William Sheares and are to be sold at

his shop in Bedford Street in Coven [*sic*] garden neere the new Exchange, at the signe of the Bible An. 1642.' It was an exact reprint of the 1599 edition with the Latin dedication and the epistle 'A. P. to the Reader,' but the list of 'Faultes escaped,' was omitted.

Altogether, I am of opinion, that all the quarto copies found in our various libraries belong to the first edition of 1599. The question remains to be answered : Is it merely a coincidence that all these copies have the Dedication, or did the printer leave it to the buyer to cut it out ? Mr. Ethridge, the librarian of Lincoln's Inn, to whom my cordial thanks are due for kindly allowing me to see the copy in that library, suggests that perhaps the presence of the list of 'Faultes escaped' on the verso of the leaf bearing the Dedication may account for its having been retained.

There was one other person whose peace of mind was sadly disturbed by the suppression of this book, and that was the licenser, Samuel Harsnett.

The letters which he wrote at this time show that he was almost beside himself with terror at the possible consequences of his action. But, as far as we know, nothing was done to him.

H. R. PLOMER.

HUMFREY WANLEY AND THE HARLEIAN LIBRARY.

HUMFREY WANLEY, the ideal librarian of his day, was the son of Nathaniel Wanley, Vicar of Trinity Church, Coventry, a remarkable man, whose capacity for minute research was shown in his curious book, entitled 'The Wonders of the Little World ; or a General History of Man.' This quality descended in even fuller measure to his son Humfrey, whose erudition was accompanied by sounder judgment, and who certainly, where books were concerned, was quite free from the credulity so conspicuous in his father.

Beginning life as a draper's assistant, Humfrey devoted all his spare time to the study of old books and manuscripts, and acquired such skill that he came under the notice of William Lloyd, Bishop of Lichfield, who obtained admission for him as a commoner to St. Edmund Hall, Oxford. He left the University, however, without taking a degree, and after gaining much credit by cataloguing manuscripts in Coventry and Warwick, was made assistant in the Bodleian Library. The want of a degree prevented him from succeeding Dr. Hyde as Bodley's librarian, and so from 1699 to 1700, we find him engaged in various researches con-

ned with manuscripts. At the end of the latter year he became assistant secretary to the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge, and then secretary from 1702 to 1708, when Robert Harley, to whom he had been introduced in 1701, employed him to catalogue the magnificent Harleian Collection of Manuscripts. In this work he spent the remaining eighteen years of his life, and the following extracts from his Diary are selected to show his conception of his duties and the manner in which he executed them. The personification of industry, he did his utmost to add to the value and completeness of the collection under his charge.

A note-book which has been preserved with his Diary among the Lansdowne Manuscripts in the British Museum, shows how he registered the whereabouts of manuscripts or books which it might be possible to obtain for the Harleian Library. From the entries, which number sixty-one, the following are selected to show the wide cast of Wanley's net.

'Notes of things proper for this Library in the hands of particular persons.

'1. Mr. Price of Withington, in Com. Hereford, has an original picture of Erasmus; Sir John Price's original history of Cambria; many old books.

'19. Mr. Stephens (of the Custom house) may possess the remainder of the Lord Chief Justice Hales things.

'50. Mr. Chamberlayne has some Bibles, etc.

'52. The old books and manuscripts at Oriel College.

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‘ 54. Mr. Ecton, of the First Fruits Office, has the old book of the statutes of the Savoy Hospital.’

These entries are followed by six closely written leaves of addresses and notes of Library business, interspersed with indications of the whereabouts of rare books and manuscripts.

His Diary commences in 1715, after he had been eight years in the service of Lord Harley. It will be seen in the first years how Wanley and his patrons were occupied in endeavouring to acquire books, manuscripts, coins, and other objects directly from the owners by exchange or purchase.

‘ March 2nd, 1714-5.

‘ Present my Lord Harley; myself. This being St. Chad’s day I acquainted his Lordship that I did the last Somer write to Mr. Kimberley, Dean of Lichfield, desiring him to induce the Chapter of that Cathedral to part with their old Book called “Textus S. Ceaddæ” to my Lord of Oxford, his Lordship therefore giving them money or Books to a greater value, but that I had never received any answer. Also that it had appeared to me that Mr. Dean was absent from Lichfield at the time I wrote my letter and long after, so that it might probably have missed him.

‘ Ordered that this matter be kept in Remembrance untill the meeting of Convocation; and that Mr. Dean Kimberley be then applied unto.

‘ I acquainted my Lord that the late Mr. Edward Lhwyd, of Oxford, left a large parcel of antient manuscripts, Welsh and Irish, together with his

own collections, papers, stones, medals, etc., which are seized by the University for Debt, and may be retrieved for about 80 pounds. Ordered that mention be made of this affair in the letter to Dr. Lancaster, and that it be enquired how one of the chiefest of Mr. Lhwyd's manuscripts in Welsh got (after his decease) into Jesus College Library, and what right that College hath unto it. His Lordship enquiring what is become of Sir Roger Twisden's Library, I answered that it is bought by Sir Thomas Sebright, but that I cannot as yet learn whether Sir Thomas did buy the manuscripts together with the Printed Books.'

'March 21st, 1714-5.

'My Lord Harley brought in a little Russian manuscript bought of Mr. Bagford.'

'June 2nd, 1715.

'My Lord Harley brought in two warrants under the sign-manual of King Charles I., being bought of Mr. Bagford.'

The dealings with Bagford were numerous, but chiefly in small things bought by Lord Harley.

The Diary was suspended from July 18th, 1716, to January 11th, 1719-20, when by Lord Harley's order it was resumed. From this time onwards booksellers, such as Bateman, Bowyer, Gibson and Davies, constantly appear with offers of parcels of books and manuscripts.

Under date of January 18th, 1719-20, Wanley notes that in conversation with Dr. Sherard he learned that,

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‘His Grace the Duke of Devonshire thinks himself bound not to part with St. Athelwold’s book, because given him by General Compton, although he hath no great value for it. . . . Mr. Smith of Venice writes that the Giustinianis will not part with their Greek manuscripts, and that he will not venture to send any of his own books to England yet.’ Also, that Mr. L’Isle informed him that, ‘The Patriarch of Antioch hath a private press at Aleppo, and there prints Liturgical books.’

Four days later we have the following interesting note :

‘Mr. Neal came and looked over the duplicates. . . . He visited me in the afternoon, and among other things declared that Mr. Alex. Cunningham had offered him 200 guineas to lett the Earl of Sunderland have the preference before all others as to the buying of his old Books.’

In connection with this we may take the following entry some two years later :

‘*April 19th, 1722.*

‘This day, about 3 in the afternoon, died Robert Spenser, Earl of Sunderland ; which I the rather note here because I believe that by reason of his Decease some benefit may accrue to this Library, even in case his Relations will part with none of his Books. I mean by his raising the Price of Books no higher now ; so that in Probability this commodity may fall in the market ; and any gentleman be permitted to buy an uncommon old Book for less than fourty or fifty Pounds.’

' March 14th, 1722-3.

' Mr. Collins came to study in the Heraldical Way, A.M. and P.M.'

This Mr. Collins was a frequent visitor to the Library, and is quaintly described in the index to the Diary as,

' Mr. Arthur Collins, a bookseller, of late years turned gentleman.'

' March 20th, 1722-3.

' Mr. Elliot came and I delivered to him a parcel to bind, and 3 more of my Lord's Morocco Skins.'

' April 6th, 1723.

' Mr. Elliot came to bind some books in the closet.'

From this last entry it would seem that the binding at that time was being done on the premises, and from other entries it appears that, Wanley being dissatisfied with the binders and their charges, Lord Harley had purchased the skins of morocco, etc., and the binders were supplied with the material as required.

' June 14th, 1723.

' Mr. Woodman brought two manuscripts to sell, one being but an ordinary book of Hours I hurried off immediately. The other being a pretty old Psalter with some Illuminations, I retain to see whether it be now as perfect as when I remember to have seen it before.'

'July 8th, 1723.

'Mr. Charles Davis brought a Translation of Christins de Pisis Faits of Arms printed in a little Folio by Caxton [Westminster, 1489] which he left at the very low price of Five Guineas. It will cost my Lord nothing to see it however.'

'July 12th, 1723.

'Charles Davis came and I returned to him his high-priced Printed Book, telling him my Lord could give no more than one Guinea for it. He said it cost him Three. This I do not believe, but in case it did, he should not have asked Five of my Lord for it the very next day.'

'I saw Mr. Andrew Hay. . . . He desiring that the price of his Manuscripts now in this Library may be fixed, I said that I believed my Lord would allow him for them Twenty Shillings or a guinea a book for them, one with another.'

'July 13th, 1723.

'Mr. Stephens, the Bookbinder, came about the four books he left here at 2 Guineas. He (foolish man) offer'd me a gratuity to help him off with them. I told him he did not know me.

'I told over the Manuscripts sent in by Mr. Andrew Hay and find that they are in number but 37, which by virtue of our late agreement my Lord is to have for as many Pounds or Guineas. This I see is a cheap Bargain, the Things being much more worth.'

'My Lord came and gave me the 2 Guineas for Mr. Stephens's Books. They are :

Bartholomæus de Proprietatibus Rerum . . . per Petrum Ungarum. 1482, fol. min.

Terentius cum Commentis Donati & Guidonis. Venetijs per Sim. Papiensem. 1494, fol.

Juvenalis cum Comēnt. Calderini, Vallæ & Mancinelli. Venetijs p. Joan. de Cereto. 1494, fol.

Virgiliij Opera cum Maph. Vegij addit⁹ & Commentarijs Donati, Landini, Calderini. Nurnb. p. Anth. Koberger. 1492, fol.

A side-light on the book sales of the period is afforded by the following entry under date

'November 28th, 1723.

'Mr. Davis came wanting the numbers of all the books I had marked in his Catalogue. I bid him stay a little, saying that his Catalogue would go to my Lord, and then if he should send me any orders about them I could come time enough to his Sale, which I dare now say will prove knavish enough.'

The dealings were often for considerable sums, e.g. on February 13th, 1723-4, Wanley notes that for certain specified parcels of manuscripts and printed books 'there remains due from my Lord to Mr. Gibson £500.' This was chiefly for books imported from Italy.

'February 28th, 1723-4.

'Mr. Bravoe came and acquainted me that he knows where a Sett of the Journals of Both Houses of Parliament do now lie in Pawn and will be sold for the money they are Pledged for.'

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An interesting competition between two of the greatest collectors of all time is seen in the following note.

'March 10th, 1723-4.

'Yesterday in the Evening my Lord sent me to look upon such of Mr. Browne's books as he is willing to buy at his approaching sale; but his shop was so full of Gentlemen that I could do nothing. This morning I went again and did the Business; but finding that Sir Hans Sloane (who first saw the Catalogue) had marked many of the Books which my Lord designed to buy, I have now written to him, in order to compound the matter between them (Sir Hans having formerly yielded up his pretensions to my Lord touching another valuable parcel :) desiring him to suffer my Lord to have at least half a dozen of the books contested which his Lordship chiefly wants.'

On the following day he notes :

'Sir Hans Sloane called at my Lodgings and acquainted me that he yields up his pretensions to all the books above-mentioned, out of Respect to my Lord whom he is desirous to oblige and serve upon all occasions.'

Wanley lost no time, for he continues under the same date :

'A Letter to Mr. Brown, directing him to send in all those of his Books which I have marked for my Lord, together with the Catalogue.'

A week later he makes the following quaint and very human entry :

'March 17th, 1723-4.

'Yesterday, in the evening, with my Lord's leave,

I went to meet Mr. Blackbourne, who proves to be a non-juring Clergyman. I waited above 2 hours, and after he was come I could have no private converse with him until it was past 2 in the morning. Afterwards, when he saw that we might be private, he said that what he had spoken of are not his own things. He shewed me an imperfect Chartulary of Bradsole or St. Radegunds, near Dover: says that 2 Gentlemen, his friends (who are not for selling), have between them aboute 997 Manuscripts, including old original charters and modern transcripts. He seems to hug these things as a great treasure, from which he is to be the only gainer, and in order to extract the gold from them has begun to copie before he can either Read or understand what he can pore out. In order to cure him of these and other wants of knowledge, I have invited him hither; shall convince him that his Friends' things are not the only Rarities in the World; and, perchance, by his means procure my Lord to save them from destruction.'

On the 20th he notes:

'Mr. Blackbourne came, and I shewed him divers fine Charters and Manuscripts. He brought with him an old English New Testament in manuscript.'

'May 6th, 1724.

'A French sort of a Droll came to my lodging, saying he was sent to me by Mr. Du Pis of Long Acre. He pulled out a 4to Paper manuscript, dedicated to Maximilian, Duke of Bavaria, treat-

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ing of Geomancy and other like nonsense, being written mostly in German. Monsieur Hump'd up the value of it, and often sware it was the finest thing in the World. I asked him the price of it and looked grum and gravely, which he saw with satisfaction, but as soon as his answer of Fifty Guineas was out, I replied, that was the book mine he should have it for the hundredth part of a Quart d'Ecu. The Drol would, however, have made remonstrances, but I would hear none; "il ne vaut rien" being my word, so I waited on him down stairs, which he took as a piece of ceremony, but, indeed, it was to see him out of the House without stealing something.'

' April 23rd, 1724.

' Mr. Gibson came, and much discourse we had about this present parcel of Books and Manuscripts, now lying at his house, as to the value of which we hitherto could not agree. He acquainted me that he had waited on my Lord but just now, and that he had shewed him that the prices of this kind of things is much risen in Italy, although lower'd here: that at the price he has descended to, he gets very little or nothing; and that his next parcel (which will be a very fine one, and the last which he shall import), he will certainly make his Lordship amends to his own content and satisfaction, and this he affirmed over again to me. Hereupon, considering that my Lord has had every one of his Manuscripts and many Printed Books at prices cheaper than what has been always demanded by others, I yielded to his being gratified in this

his request, and the cargo is to be sent in accordingly with all speed. (And it was sent in accordingly.) The Manuscripts must have the date of this day, and the Catalogue is in a loose Paper.'

The Diary, continues in similar style to June 23rd, 1726, when the last entry runs:

'This morning my Lord sent hither a parcel sent to him yesterday in the evening by Mr. Gibson. It consists of about 25 Manuscripts, whereof 4 are in Greek, and 5 printed Books. But since they are not yet agreed for, it is needless to insert any list of them here.'

Humfrey Wanley died on the 6th of July following, at the age of fifty-four, industrious and active to the very end in spite of ill-health. He was twice married, but left no children surviving him.

G. F. BARWICK.

AN OPEN LETTER TO ANDREW CARNEGIE, ESQUIRE.

SIR,

THE gifts which you are constantly making for the extension of public libraries in England and America, indicate that you believe in the library as a serious factor in the educational and social life of the community. That belief is well grounded. The public library is a much more important contributor to educational progress and social improvement than is generally recognized. Hitherto public libraries in Great Britain have to a great extent been tolerated rather than encouraged. Most of them have been so starved that they cannot, with their present incomes, be thoroughly efficient. I am glad to observe that at Dundee and in other places you have stipulated for an improved income for maintenance as a condition of your gifts.

I understand, however, that your contributions are made only for new libraries, and not in any case for the improvement of those already in existence. You may have good reasons for this, and your present limitation may be the best. Nevertheless I venture to put before you some views as to the things most necessary for the welfare of libraries in Great Britain. I do this because, in my opinion,

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improvement of the existing libraries is urgently needed, and would lead to greater appreciation of them. An extension of libraries would naturally follow such appreciation.

The limitation to a penny rate imposed upon libraries has confined their energies within a narrow range, any desire to improve being met with the cry 'No funds.' The amount of work which has been accomplished is remarkable—and within their limitations most libraries are working efficiently. But the range is too narrow. Improved educational facilities, and greater appreciation of books as an aid to working and living, make it imperative that the range of libraries should be widened.

There are three directions in which (speaking generally, for there are notable exceptions), libraries fail to meet the requirements of the public. These are :

1. Weakness of the Reference Library, and a consequent failure to meet the needs of the better educated readers, students and literary workers.
2. Inadequate provision for the reading of children, and for cultivating the reading habit.
3. Absence of any effort to extend the library system to the rural districts.

The first two failures are due to want of funds. Not only has the library to be maintained, but unless some generous donor comes forward, a loan for buildings has to be raised, entailing an annual payment out of the penny rate for interest and re-

demption of the loan. What this means will be made clear by quoting some figures from the local taxation returns for 1898-9. These figures relate only to England and Wales. The amounts in each case would be larger if Scotland and Ireland could be included, but I have not the figures by me.

The amount spent upon the up-keep of libraries for the year was £459,901. Of this sum about £55,000 went to defray the cost of loans, amounting in the aggregate to £1,063,870.

The liberation of that £55,000 annually would make an enormous difference to some of the most deserving libraries; those which have been started and carried on entirely by communities endowed with a spirit of self-help which they could translate into practice. Such a sum added annually to the book-purchasing power would provide reference libraries of greatly improved character, such as would meet the wants of all classes in the community. It would also enable the library authorities to attack the question of providing reading for children on a more adequate scale. The American library authorities have grasped the importance of a closer union between the school and the library, and the desirability of bringing children into relations with books at an early age. In Great Britain the libraries have been timid with regard to this matter, for the usual reason—‘no funds.’

The non-extension of the library system to the rural districts, is due to absence of effort. This work, like technical instruction, must be done by the County Councils. But why is it delayed? The years are going by. The rush from the

country to the towns is also going on. People talk of the dulness of the country. Yet the Public Library, which would do much to relieve the monotony of rural life by supplying a new line of interest and thought, is left non-existent. I am not prepared to offer a ready-made scheme for extending the library system in this way, but I am quite sure that if some County Council would engage the services of a good organizing librarian, and give him a free hand for four or five years, the difficulties would be overcome. The establishment of library centres throughout a county would help the work of technical instruction by providing books and a meeting-place for classes. The subject is not at present before the country, and before any progress can be expected, something must be done to arouse interest in it. Who is to do it? Money and time, coupled with ability, are required. The object is a worthy one.

You have stated that the best gift which can be given to a community is a free library, provided the community will accept and maintain it as a public institution. I am writing this letter in the hope of interesting you in the future development of libraries in Great Britain. They need to be lifted on to a higher plane—to be liberated from the toils of poverty. A sum of a little over a million sterling would discharge all the debts upon the existing buildings. Less than half a million sterling would give to every library the equivalent of one year's income, which could be made into a fund for the purchase of books of permanent value, while a comparatively small sum would provide

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the sinews of war for a campaign in favour of an extension of the library system to rural districts. You are always ready to help to establish new libraries by providing a building if the community will undertake its maintenance: may I commend to your notice as deserving of favourable consideration those communities which have tried to help themselves, and in doing so have pioneered the library movement and loaded themselves with debts amounting to over a million pounds.

I am, Sir,

Your obedient Servant,

AN EARNEST LIBRARIAN.

BACON'S BILITERAL CIPHER AND ITS APPLICATIONS.



WERE it not for the controversy which has arisen as the result of Mr. Mallock's article in 'The Nineteenth Century' for December last, it would hardly be necessary to attempt a formal refutation of the theory that Bacon's biliteral cipher was used by him to write a secret history into a number of works published during his life-time, and even now one cannot but half expect that Mrs. Gallup and her English champion will in the end turn upon their assailants and dub us all fools for taking this latest-born of Baconian booby-traps seriously. So far, however, the controversy has been largely confined to vague generalities concerning the probability or improbability of Bacon having written Shakespeare or to doubts concerning the truth of the secret history, the disputants having, with the exception of Mr. Mallock, apparently failed to perceive that *à priori* arguments of this nature cannot by themselves finally disprove a theory which rests upon certain clear and verifiable statements as to matters of typography.¹ Indeed, so far from the usual anti-

¹ Some have entered the arena for the sole purpose apparently of displaying their own astounding ignorance. Thus one letter in 'The Times' suggests that the Secret History is an obvious American forgery, since *honour* is spelt without the *u*! This statement has, I am informed, also appeared in one of the weekly papers.

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Baconian arguments being in any way pertinent in the present case, it would be perfectly possible to admit the truth of every word in Mrs. Gallup's book, and yet to argue that the only thing proved was, that some insane person connected with the printing trade from about 1590 to about 1630 introduced into a number of works printed during that period a cipher containing a vast mass of involved and at times unintelligible nonsense written in a vile imitation of the Chancellor's style.

I propose, therefore, to investigate the question of the cipher itself, and to determine, so far as may be, what possibility there is of its existence, and also upon what methods Mrs. Gallup has proceeded in deciphering it.

The cipher is fully described on pages 306 to 309 of Bacon's '*De Augmentis Scientiarum*' of 1624,¹ and on pages 264 to 269 of the English translation by Gilbert Wats of 1640. It consists in having two forms of every letter, both capital and minuscule, and using them to form an alphabet of two dissimilar things, such as that formed by the dots and dashes of the Morse code. In the case of the cipher, however, since it is impossible to mark the division of the letters, it is necessary that they should consist of groups of the same number. Since twenty-four letters are needed (*i, j*, and *u, v*, are of course the same), the smallest group which will give the requisite number of mutations is five ($2^5 = 32$), and we consequently find Bacon arranging his alphabet as follows:

¹ So Mrs. Gallup's facsimile; B.M. copy, 1623.

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A = <i>aaaaa</i>	B = <i>aaaab</i>	C = <i>aaaba</i>	D = <i>aaabb</i>
E = <i>aabaa</i>	F = <i>aabab</i>	G = <i>aabba</i>	H = <i>aabbb</i>
I = <i>abaaa</i>	K = <i>abaab</i>	L = <i>ababa</i>	M = <i>ababb</i>
N = <i>abbaa</i>	O = <i>abbab</i>	P = <i>abbbba</i>	Q = <i>abbbb</i>
R = <i>baaaa</i>	S = <i>baaab</i>	T = <i>baaba</i>	V = <i>baabb</i>
W = <i>babaa</i>	X = <i>babab</i>	Y = <i>babba</i>	Z = <i>babbb</i>

Bacon then proceeds to give an example of the cipher. For this he transcribes a portion of the first Epistle of Cicero, into which he inserts or, to use his own word, 'involves' the famous 'Spartan Letter,' the classical example of the 'Scytale' or staff cipher. This specimen was cut on a block, not set up from ordinary type, and has been reproduced in facsimile to illustrate the present article. The most casual inspection will at once reveal the existence of the duplicate forms of the letters, and any schoolboy who has ever amused himself in class by concocting secret writings, will, with the help of the alphabet given above, have no difficulty in deciphering it in the course of half an hour or so. It is merely a question of noting the forms of the different letters, and then deciding which to call *a* and which *b*. This latter question presents little difficulty in Bacon's alphabet, so long as we have a sufficiently long cipher-passage to work from, since the proportion of *a* to *b* forms is 68 to 52 or 17 to 13, with a tendency in favour of *a* forms, due to their predominance in letters of frequent occurrence, A, E, etc. Thus we merely have to call the more frequent form *a*, the less frequent *b*.

For comparison with this specimen a passage has been reproduced in facsimile from the 'Novum

Ego omni officio, ac potius pietate erga te;
 caeteris satisfacio omnibus: Mihi ipse nun-
 quam satisfacio. Tanta est enim magni-
 tudo tuorum erga me meritorum, ut quoni-
 am tu, nisi perfectare, de me non congrues-
 si; ego, quia non idem in tua causa efficio,
 vitam mihi esse acerbam patem. In cau-
 sa haec sunt: Ammonius Regis Legatus
 aperte pecuniâ nos oppugnat. Res agitur
 per eosdem creditores, per quos, cum tu ade-
 ras, agebatur. Regis causâ, si qui sunt,
 qui velint, qui pauci sunt, omnes ad Pompe-

PART OF PAGE FROM 'DE AUGMENTIS SCIENTIARUM,' 1623,
 SHOWING USE OF BACON'S CIPHER.

Organum,' in which Mrs. Gallup finds the same cipher. The comparative uniformity of the letters will be at once obvious, but we shall be told, and told quite truly, that if Bacon did not wish his secret to be read at once he could not adopt the same glaring differentiations as in his specimen. Nevertheless, it must be admitted that there were many grades of concealment possible between the very obvious dimorphism of the specimen and the type of the other passage here reproduced, in which, as regards many of the letters, the most competent experts have completely failed to distinguish more than one form.

The position with regard to the founts is as follows. It has always been obvious to those familiar with old printing that there are two forms of most of the italic capitals, a plain form and an ornamental form, which were used to a large extent indifferently. So, too, with a few of the lower case letters, such as *v* and *w*. Mrs. Gallup assumes that these differences run through the whole alphabet, both upper and lower cases. This, however, is precisely what nobody has yet succeeded in demonstrating, while there is considerable reason to suppose that it is not the case. Mr. Mallock proposed to institute experiments in the way of photographic enlargements of the type, and it appears from a letter in 'The Times' of January 3rd, that such experiments have actually been carried out by Mrs. Dew-Smith at Cambridge, and have signally failed to give any results supporting Mrs. Gallup's theory.¹ Little

¹ Since the above was written an elaborate typographical investigation has been published in 'The Times' of January 6th,

indeed was to be expected from a process which would merely tend to exaggerate the inevitable irregularities of type imperfectly cast, often worn and battered, unevenly inked, and impressed on rough paper. Moreover, unless the differences are capable of detection by a careful examination with the naked eye they are useless for the purpose of the cipher. Even Bacon, it must be remembered, knew nothing of the process of photography!

In the majority of cases Mrs. Gallup does not give sufficient information to make it possible to check her deciphering; she tells us neither where she begins, what forms of letters occur in the particular types used, nor to which fount she assigns them. Yet not one of these three important points is constant. The only passage in which she fairly allows us to see her at work is in the specimen transliteration from the 'Novum Organum,' for that from Spenser's 'Complaints' is too short to be of much use. Here she gives facsimiles of two printed title-pages and the seven pages of the 'Præfatio,' a table of the different founts, and an elaborate transcription of a portion, showing to which fount she assigns each individual letter.¹ It is to this passage, therefore, that I shall confine my investigations, which can be readily followed by anyone who has the work before him. In order, however, to obtain a wider basis of comparison

the results of which are still more unfavourable to the cipher-theory.

¹ The founts used in this to represent the dimorphism of the original habitually *reverse* the distinctions there observable, and should be entirely disregarded.

than the two pages of continuous italic type transliterated in detail, I have taken the continuation of the deciphered story as printed on p. 86 and put it back into cipher, thus obtaining the values assigned to all letters on pages 3 and 4 of the 'Præfatio.'

In the first place let us consider the question of the alleged dimorphism of the lower case italic fount, as it appears in the facsimile here given of the first page of the 'Præfatio.' It will be readily seen that there are two forms of *v* (cf. *validi* in l. 9 with *virtutem* in l. 12), and it is also possible that there are other dimorphous letters. Thus there are two forms of the circumflex accent over the *a* (cf. ll. 1 and 2), and it is not impossible that there are two forms of long *s* (see *ausi sunt* in l. 3), though personally I believe that in all cases the differences are such as might be caused by the type getting bent. Attention has already been called in an article (not by the present writer) in 'The Pilot,' to the three instances of the termination *-erunt* in lines 10, 11, and 12 (*fuerunt*, *profuerunt*, and *nocuerunt*). These are transliterated by Mrs. Gallup as *aabab*, *baaba*, and *abaab* respectively, that is to say in no case is the same value attached to the same letter in all three cases. And yet the passage, I am informed, has been carefully and impartially examined by the most competent typographical experts, who agree that not only are there no differences visible, but that there are minute peculiarities which reappear in all three cases. This is sufficiently damaging to Mrs. Gallup's theory, but it still falls short of absolute



*Vi de Naturâ; tanquàm
de re exploratâ, pronuntiare
ausi sunt; siue hoc ex animi
fiduciâ fecerint, siue ambi-
tiosè, & more professorio;
maximis illi Philosophiam;
& Scientias detrimentis af-
fecere. Ut enim ad fidem*

*faciendam validi, ita etiam ad inquisitionem extin-
guendam & abruptendam efficaces fuerunt. Ne-
que virtute propria tantùm profuerunt, quantùm in
hoc nocuerunt; quòd aliorum virtutem corruerint, &
perdiderint. Qui autem contrariam huic viam ingressi
sunt, atque nihil prorsus sciri posse asseruerunt, siue
ex Sophistarum veterum odio, siue ex animi fluctuatio-
ne, aut etiam ex quadam doctrinæ copiâ, in hanc opi-
nionem delapsi sint, certè non contemnendas eius ratio-
nes adduxerunt; veruntamen nec à veris initijs senten-
tiam suam deriuârunt, & studio quodam; atque af-
fectione prouecti, prorsus modum excefferunt. At
antiquiores ex Græcis (quorum scripta perierunt)*

PART OF PAGE FROM BACON'S 'NOVUM ORGANUM,' 1620, IN WHICH
MRS. GALLUP FINDS A CIPHER.

proof. It is not a physical or logical impossibility that Mrs. Gallup may be possessed of a power of detecting differences in and consistently distinguishing forms of letters which appear to be identical to all those most competent to judge in this country. We must therefore proceed with our inquiry.

In a Table printed in her book, Mrs. Gallup has assigned the different forms to the two founts, and on reference to this it will be noticed, with regard to the capitals, that on the whole the plain forms are assigned to *a*, the ornamental to *b* fount, but that the distribution is not entirely consistent. Thus, to take only cases where patently distinct forms occur, we find the plain forms of *A*, *E*, *G*, and *V* assigned to *a* fount, while the ornamental forms, *A*, *E*, *G*, and *V* are assigned to *b*. On the other hand the plain form of *I* is assigned to *b*, and the ornamental form *J* to *a* fount. As regards *M*, the plain form is given, with very slight and questionable modification, both as *a* and *b*, the ornamental *M* as *b* only. Of the other upper case and of nearly all the lower case letters, I will only say that the differences are such that the very slightest damage to the face of the type would at once convert one form into the other, or at least make them indistinguishable.

With regard to these inconsistencies, however, it may plausibly be argued that they were merely introduced by Bacon in order to make the deciphering of his story a less easy task, and that they in no wise affect either the general principle or the particular application. Let us come, then,

to the really crucial question and see whether those letters, the forms of which can be readily distinguished, have been assigned consistently or not in the process of transliteration.

For this purpose I shall divide the facsimile from the 'Novum Organum,' given by Mrs. Gallup, into three portions, first the printed title-pages in which the italic fount is largely of the upper case; secondly, ll. 1-47 of the 'Præfatio' (ll. 1-21 of which appear in the facsimile accompanying the present article), of which Mrs. Gallup gives a full transliteration; and thirdly, ll. 48-108, which I have checked by reconstructing the cipher from the deciphered story on p. 86. I number the lines of the two title-pages continuously, those of the 'Præfatio' separately.

To test Mrs. Gallup's method I selected the following letters, in which the two forms are clearly distinct: *A*, *ℳ*; *E*, *ℰ*; *Ƴ*, *I*; *M*, *ℳ*; *V*, *℥*. I also took the two forms of *ℰ*, of which the wider and more sloped is assigned in the Table to *a*, the narrower and more upright to *b* fount (see ll. 5 and 7 of the facsimile respectively).

In the title-pages there are nine upper case italic *A*'s, all belonging to the plain or *a* fount. Six of these are transliterated as *a*, while two (the first in l. 10 and that in l. 24) are transliterated as *b*. Of the *E*'s, seven belong to *a* and three to *b* fount, and all are correctly transliterated. Besides these, however, there are three cases of the ligature *Æ*. A careful examination of the original has failed to reveal any differences in these, both components of which belong to the *a* form. Yet they are trans-

literated *aa*, *ab*, and *ba* respectively (ll. 3, 12, and 25).¹ The *I*'s, of which there are nine, all belong to the plain fount, which in this case is called *b*, and are correctly transliterated. *M* occurs four times, always of the plain fount, and no reason is apparent why two should be transliterated as *a* and two as *b*; this, however, is consistent with the Table of Founts. *V* occurs seven times, always plain, and correctly transliterated as *a*.

Turning to the first 47 lines of the 'Præfatio,' we find the *A*'s (three times, *b* fount), *E*'s (three times, *b* fount), *I* (once, *b* fount), and *M*'s (four times, *b* fount), all correctly transliterated. It is, however, not so with either the *V*'s or *Œ*'s, and I am glad to be able to illustrate the point from the annexed facsimile. *V* occurs twice, once in its plain form in l. 1, and once in its ornamental in l. 8; yet, in both cases it is transliterated as *a*. So again it will be noticed that in ll. 5 and 7 occur the two forms of *Œ*, of which that in l. 5 belongs, according to the Table of Founts, to *a*, that in l. 7 to *b*. Yet both are here transliterated *a*. The *Œ* occurs sixteen times in the 47 lines we are examining; twelve times in the *a* form, once incorrectly transliterated *b*, and four times in the *b* form, twice incorrectly transliterated *a*.

Lastly, let us take the passage (ll. 48-108), for

¹ Several inconsistencies of transliteration were noted by Mrs. Dew-Smith in her letter before mentioned, but she is mistaken as to the question of ligatures. There is no reason why the two components should belong to the same form of letter. It is just as easy to cast *ab* as *aa* on the same body; but it would necessitate *four* forms of the ligature, namely, *aa*, *ab*, *bb*, and *ba*, instead of *two* forms as in the ordinary type.

which I reconstructed the cipher. I confess that when I did so, I fully expected to find all attempt at consistency abandoned; but I was mistaken. Four *A*'s (1 *a*, 3 *b*), four *I*'s (2 *a*, 2 *b*), and one *V* (*b*), are correctly transliterated. There are five *M*'s, one plain, transliterated *a*, and four ornamental, of which two are incorrectly transliterated *a*. Again there are fifteen *a* fount *Œ*'s, of which two are incorrectly transliterated *b*, and seven *b* fount ones, of which four are incorrectly transliterated *a*.

Besides these upper case letters there are the lower case *v* and *w*, which are clearly dimorphous. In the 'Præfatio,' both in the part for which the transliteration is given, and that for which I reconstructed it, the two forms of *v* are correctly transliterated. The *w*, of course, does not occur in Latin, but its forms also are correctly transliterated in the passage from Spenser.

To sum up, then: not only is no evidence forthcoming to make the assumption of two distinct founts for the whole lower case alphabet in the least plausible; not only are the recognisable forms assigned to the two founts in a perfectly arbitrary manner, but the forms are in many cases not even consistently differentiated in the process of transliteration. These are points which must be met before anyone has the right to assert that Mrs. Gallup has made out any *primâ facie* case for her theory.

One point remains. In the transliteration the italic capital *S* of the word *Secundo*, occurring in the fifth line of the title-pages, has been omitted, apparently by accident, certainly without explana-

tion or authority. Similar omissions may occur elsewhere, though I have not noticed them; one case is, however, fully sufficient. If the cipher were genuine the deciphering would necessarily go wrong from this point, the fact that it does not do so is conclusive evidence that the cipher is not genuine.

I do not wish to assert that the book is an intentional fraud: I do not think it is. On the other hand, I have no wish to speculate upon the mental condition of any person who proposes to extract a cipher on the absolutely illogical and inconsistent method which I have endeavoured to expose above, or who is prepared to accept the result of such work as meriting serious attention without having himself troubled to take the most obvious means of testing its accuracy.

It is unnecessary to call attention to the many absurdities involved in the theory of the cipher—not among the least of which is the fact that the insertion of it would have placed Bacon's life in the hands of every printer's devil—for if it is possible to demonstrate that the cipher does not exist anywhere but in Mrs. Gallup's imagination, it is obviously useless to dwell upon the improbability of its existence. So far, I see little prospect of the fulfilment of Mrs. Gallup's hope, expressed in her quotation from Bacon, which adorns the cover of her book—a quotation I would print in this wise: *I am in good hope that if the first reading move an objection, the second reading will make a' answer.*

WALTER W. GREG.

ENGLISH BOOK-ILLUSTRATION OF TO-DAY.

I. SOME DECORATIVE ILLUSTRATORS.



OF the famous 'Poems by Alfred Tennyson,' published in 1857 by Edward Moxon, Mr. Gleeson White wrote in 1897: 'The whole modern school of decorative illustrators regard it rightly enough as the genesis of the modern movement.' The statement may need some modification to touch exact truth, for the 'modern movement' is no single file, straightforward movement. 'Kelmscott,' 'Japan,' the 'Yellow Book,' black-and-white art in Germany, in France, in Spain, in America, the influence of Blake, the style of artists such as Walter Crane, have affected the form of decorative book-illustration in the nineties. Such perfect unanimity of opinion as is here ascribed to a large and rather indefinitely related body of men hardly exists, among even the smallest and most derided body of artists. Still, allowing for the impossibility of telling the whole truth about any modern and eclectic form of art in one sentence, there is here a statement of fact. What Rossetti and Millais and Holman Hunt achieved in the drawings to the illustrated 'Tennyson' was a vital change in the direction of English illustra-

tion, and whatever form decorative illustration may assume, their ideal is effective while a personal interpretation of the spirit of the text is the creative impulse in illustrative art. The influence of technical mastery is strong and enduring enough. It is constantly in sight and constantly in mind. But it is in discovering and making evident a principle in art that the influence of spirit on spirit becomes one of the illimitable powers.

To Rossetti the illustration of literature meant giving beautiful form to the aspect of delight, of penetration, that had kindled his imagination as he read. He illustrated the 'Palace of Art' in the spirit that stirred him to rhythmic expression in words of the still music in Giorgione's 'Pastoral,' or of the unpassing movement of Mantegna's 'Parnassus.' Not the words of the text, nor those things precisely affirmed by the writer, but the meaning, the spell of beauty that held his mind to the exclusion of other images, gave him inspiration for his drawings. As Mr. William Michael Rossetti says: 'He drew just what he chose, taking from his author's text nothing more than a hint and an opportunity.' It is said, indeed, that Tennyson could never see what the St. Cecily drawing had to do with his poem. And that is strange enough to be true.

It is clear that such an ideal of illustration is for the attainment of a few only. The ordinary illustrator, making drawings for cheap reproduction in the ordinary book, can no more work in this mood than the journalist can model his style on the prose of Milton. But journalism is not literature, and

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pictured matter-of-fact is not illustration, though it is convenient and obligatory to call it so. However, here one need not consider this, for the decorative illustrator has usually literature to illustrate, and a commission to be beautiful and imaginative in his work. He has the opportunity of Rossetti, the opportunity for significant art.

The 'Classics' and children's books divide the art of decorative illustrators. Those who have illustrated children's books chiefly, or whose best work has been for the playful classics of literature, it is convenient to consider in a separate article, though there are instances where the division is not maintainable. Walter Crane, for example, whose influence on a school of decorative design makes his position at the head of his following imperative.

Representing the 'architectural' sense in the decoration of books, many years before the supreme achievements of William Morris added that ideal to generally recognized motives of book-decoration, Walter Crane is the precursor of a large and prolific school of decorative illustrators. Many factors, as he himself tells, have gone to the shaping of his art. Born in 1846 at Liverpool, he came to London in 1857, and there after two years was 'apprenticed' to Mr. W. J. Linton, the famous wood-engraver. His work began with 'the sixties,' in contact with the enthusiasm and inspiration those years brought into English art. The illustrated 'Tennyson,' and Ruskin's 'Elements of Drawing,' were in his thoughts before he entered Mr. Linton's workshop, and the 'Once a Week' school had



FROM MR. WALTER CRANE'S 'GRIMM'S HOUSEHOLD STORIES.'
BY LEAVE OF MESSRS. MACMILLAN.

a strong influence on his early contributions to 'Good Words,' 'Once a Week,' and other famous numbers. In 1865 Messrs. Warne published the first toy-book, and by 1869-70 the 'Walter Crane Toy-book' was a fact in art. The sight of some Japanese colour-prints during these years suggested a finer decorative quality to be obtained with tint and outline, and in the use of black, as well as in a more delicate simplicity of colour, the later toy-books show the first influence of Japanese art on the decorative art of England. Italian art in England and Italy, the prints of Dürer, the Parthenon sculptures, these were influences that affected him strongly. 'The Baby's Opera' (1877), and 'The Baby's Bouquet' (1879), are classics almost impossible to criticise, classics familiar from cover to cover before one was aware of any art but the art on their pages. So that if they seem less expressive of the supreme art of Greece, of Germany, of Italy, than of the countries by whose coasts ships 'from over the sea' go sailing by with strange cargoes and strange crews, of that land whence come broom-sellers and cradle-songs, it is not in their dispraise. As a decorative artist Mr. Crane is at his best when the use of colour gives clearness to the composition, but some of his most 'serious' work is in the black-and-white pages of 'The Sirens Three,' 'Echoes of Hellas,' 'The Shepherdes Calendar,' and especially 'The Faerie Queene.' The number of books he has illustrated—upwards of seventy—makes a detailed account impossible. Nursery rhyme and fairy books, children's stories, the myths of Greece, Spenser, Shake-

speare, 'pageant books' such as 'Flora's Feast' or 'Queen Summer,' or the just published 'Masque of Days,' his own writings, serious or gay, have given him subjects, as the great art of all times has touched the ideals of his art.

But whatever the subject, how strong soever his artistic admirations, he is always Walter Crane, unmistakable at a glance. Knights and ladies, fairies and fairy people, allegorical figures, nursery and school-room children, fulfil his decorative purpose without swerving, though not always without injury to their comfort and freedom and the life in their limbs. An individual apprehension that sees every situation as a decorative 'arrangement' is occasionally beside the purpose in rendering real life. But when his theme touches imagination, and is not a supreme expression of it—for then, as in the illustrations to 'The Faerie Queene,' an unusual sense of subservience appears to dull his spirit—his fancy knows no weariness nor sameness of device.

The work of most of Mr. Crane's followers belongs to 'the nineties,' when the 'Arts and Crafts' movement, the 'Century Guild' the Birmingham and other schools had attracted or produced artists working according to the canons of Kelmscott. Mr. Heywood Sumner was earlier in the field. The drawings to 'Sintram' (1883) and to 'Undine' (1888) show his art as an illustrator. Undine—spirit of wind and water, flower-like in gladness—seeking to win an immortal soul by submission to the forms of life, is realized in the gracefully designed figures of frontispiece and title-page. Where

Mr. Sumner illustrates incident he is 'factual' without being matter-of-fact. The small drawing reproduced is hardly representative of his art, but most of his work is adapted to a squarer page than



FROM MR. HEYWOOD SUMNER'S
'UNDINE.'

BY LEAVE OF MESSRS. CHAPMAN
AND HALL.

that of 'The Library,' and has had to be rejected on that account. Some of the 'most apt decorations in 'The English Illustrated' were by Mr. Sumner, and during the time when art was represented in the magazine Mr. Ryland and Mr. Louis Davis were frequent contributors. The graceful figures of Mr. Ryland, uninterested in activity, a garden-world set with statues around them, and the carol-like grace of Mr. Davis's designs in that magazine, represent them better than the one or two books they have illustrated.

Among those associated with the 'Arts and Crafts' who have given more of their art to book-decoration than these men, Mr. Anning Bell is first. He has gained the approval even of the most exigent of critics as an artist who understands drawing for

process. Since 1895, when the 'Midsummer Night's Dream' appeared, his winning art has been praised with discrimination and without discrimination, but always praised. Trained in an architect's office, widely known as the re-creator of coloured relief for architectural decoration, Mr. Anning Bell's illustrative art shows constructive power no less than that fairy gift of seeming to improvise without labour and without hesitancy, which is one of its especial charms. In feeling, and in many of his decorative forms, he recalls the art of Florentine bas-relief, when Agostino di Duccio, or Rossellino or Mino da Fiesole, created forms of delicate sweetness, pure, graceful—so graceful that their power is hardly realized. The fairy by-play of the 'Midsummer Night's Dream' is exactly to Mr. Anning Bell's fancy. He knows better than to go about to expound this dream, and it is not likely that a more delightful edition will ever be put into the hands of children, or of anyone, than this in the white and gold cover devised by the artist.

Of his illustrations to the 'Poems by John Keats' (1897), and to the 'English Lyrics from Spenser to Milton' of the following year—as illustrations—not quite so much can be said, distinguished and felicitous as many of them are. The simple profile, the demure type of beauty that he affects, hardly suits with Isabella when she hears that Lorenzo has gone from her, with Lamia by the clear pool

"Wherein she passion'd
To see herself escaped from so sore ills,"

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or with Madeline, 'St. Agnes' charm'd maid.' Mr. Anning Bell's drawings to 'The Pilgrim's Progress' (1898) reveal him in a different mood, as do those in 'The Christian Year' of three years earlier. His vision is hardly energetic enough, his energy of belief sufficient, to make him a strong illustrator of Bunyan, with his many moods, his great mood. A little these designs suggest Howard



FROM MR. ANNING BELL'S 'KEATS.'
BY LEAVE OF MESSRS. GEORGE BELL.

Pyle, and Anning Bell is better in a way of beauty not Gothic.

So if Mr. Anning Bell represents the 'Arts and Crafts' movement in the variety of decorative arts he has practised, and in the architectural sense underlying all his art, his work does not agree with the form in which the influence of William Morris on decorative illustration has chiefly shown itself. That form, of course, is Gothic, as the ideal of Kelmscott was Gothic. The work of the

'Century Guild' artists as decorative illustrators is chiefly in the pages of 'The Hobby Horse.' I do not think either Mr. Selwyn Image or Mr. Herbert Horne has illustrated books, so in this connection one may not stop to consider the decorative strength of their ideal in art. The Birmingham school represents Gothic ideals with determination and rigidity. Morris addressed the students of the school and prefaced the edition of 'Good King Wenceslas,' decorated and engraved and printed by Mr. A. J. Gaskin 'at the press of the Guild of Handicraft in the City of Birmingham,' with cordial words of appreciation for the pictures. These illustrations are among the best Mr. Gaskin has done. The twelve full-page drawings to 'The Shepheardes Calendar,' printed at the Kelmscott Press in 1896, mark Morris's pleasure in Mr. Gaskin's work—this time seen in Andersen's 'Stories and Fairy Tales.' If not quite in tune with Spenser's Elizabethan idyllism, these drawings are distinctive of the definite convictions of the artist.

These convictions represent a splendid tradition. They are expressive, in their regard for the unity of the page, for harmony between type and decoration, of the universal truth in all fine book-making. Only at times Birmingham work seems rather heavy in spirit, rather too rigid for development. Still, judging by results, a code that would appear to be against individual expression is inspiring individual artists. Some of these—as Mr. E. H. New—have turned their attention to architectural and "open air" illustration, in which connection their work will be considered, and many



FROM MR. GASKIN'S 'HANS ANDERSEN.'
BY LEAVE OF MR. GEORGE ALLEN,

have illustrated children's books. Their quaint and naïve fancy has there, at times produced a portentous embodiment of the 'old-fashioned' child of fiction. Mr. Gere, though he has done little book-illustration, is one of the strongest artists of the school. His original wood engravings show unmistakably his decorative power and his craftsmanship. With Mr. K. Fairfax Muckley he was responsible for 'The Quest' (1894-96). Mr. Fairfax Muckley has illustrated and decorated a three-volume edition of 'The Faerie Queene' (1897), wherein the forest branches and winding ways of woodland and of plain are more happily conventionalized than are Spenser's figures. Some of the headpieces are especially successful. The artist uses the 'mixed convention' of solid black and line work with less confusion than many modern draughtsmen. Once its dangers must have been evident, but now the puzzle pattern, with solid blacks in the foreground, background, and mid-distance—only there is no distance in these drawings—is the most usual form of black and white.

Miss Celia Levetus, Mr. Henry Payne, Mr. F. Mason, and Mr. Bernard Sleigh, are also to the credit of the school. Miss Levetus, in her later work, shows that an inclination towards a more flexible style is not incompatible with the training in mediæval convention. Mr. Mason's illustrations to ancient romances of chivalry give evidence of conscientious craftsmanship, and of a spirit sympathetic to themes such as 'Renaud of Montauban.' Mr. Bernard Sleigh's original wood-engravings are well known and justly appreciated. Strong in tra-

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dition and logic as is the work of these designers, it is, for many, too consistent with convention to be delightful. Perhaps the best result of the Birmingham school will hardly be achieved until the formal effect of it is less patent..

The "sixties" might have been void of art, so far as these designers are concerned, save that in those days Morris and Burne-Jones and Walter Crane, as well as Millais and Houghton and Sandys, were about their work. Far other is the case with artists such as Mr. Byam Shaw, or with the many draughtsmen, including Messrs. P. V. Woodroffe, Henry Osipov, Philip Connard, and Herbert Cole, whose art derives its form and intention from the sixties. Differing in technical power and fineness of invention, in all that distinguishes good from less good, they have this in common—that the form of their art would have been quite other if the illustrated books of the sixties were among things unseen. Mr. Byam Shaw began his work as an illustrator in 1897 with a volume of 'Browning's Poems,' edited by Dr. Garnett. He proved himself in these drawings, as in his pictures and later illustrations, an artist with a definite memory for the forms, and a genuine sympathy with the aims of pre-Raphaelite art. Evidently, too, he admires the black-and-white of Mr. Abbey. He has the gift of dramatic conception, sees a situation at high pitch, and has a pleasant way of giving side-lights, pictorial asides, in the form of decorative head and tailpieces. His illustrations to the little green and gold volumes of the 'Chiswick Shakespeare' are more emphatic than his earlier work, and in the decorations his

power of summarizing the chief motive is put to good use. There is no need of his signature to distinguish the work of Byam Shaw, though he shows himself under the influence of various masters. Probably he is only an illustrator of books by the way, but in the meantime, as the 'Boccaccio,' 'Browning,' and 'Shakespeare' drawings show, he works in black and white with vigorous intention.

Mr. Ospovat's illustrations to 'Shakespeare's Sonnets' and to 'Matthew Arnold's Poems' are interesting, if not very markedly his own. He illustrates the Sonnets as a celebration of a poet's passion for his mistress. In the Matthew Arnold drawings, as in these, he shows some genuine creative power and an aptitude for illustrative decoration. Mr. Philip Connard has made spirited and well-realized illustrations in somewhat the same kind; Miss Amelia Bauerle, and Mr. Bulcock, who began by illustrating 'The Blessed Damozel' in memory of Rossetti, have made appearance in the 'Flowers of Parnassus' series, and Mr. Herbert Cole, with three of these little green volumes, prepared one for more important work in 'Gulliver's Travels' (1900).

The work of Mr. Woodroffe was, I think, first seen in the 'Quarto'—the organ of the Slade School—where also Mr. A. Garth Jones, Mr. Cyril Goldie, and Mr. Robert Spence, gave unmistakable evidence of individuality. Mr. Woodroffe's wood-engravings in the 'Quarto' showed strength, which is apparent, too, in the delicately characterized figures to 'Songs from Shakespeare's Plays' (1898), with their borders of lightly-strung field flowers.

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His drawings to 'The Confessions of S. Augustine,' engraved by Miss Clemence Housman, are in keeping with the text, not impertinent. Mr. A. Garth Jones in the 'Quarto' seemed much influenced by Japanese grotesques; but in illustrations to Milton's 'Minor Poems' (1898) he has shown development towards the expression of beauty more austere, classical, controlled to the presentment of Milton's high thought. His recent 'Essays of Elia' remind one of the forcible work of Mr. E. J. Sullivan in 'Sartor Resartus.' Mr. Sullivan's 'Sartor' and 'Dream of Fair Women' must be mentioned. His mastery over an assertive use of line and solid black, the unity of his effects, the humour and imagination of his decorative designs, are not likely to be forgotten, though the balance of his work in books such as 'White's Selborne' or 'The Compleat Angler,' obliges one to class him with 'Open-Air' illustrators, and so to leave a blank in this article.

Mr. Laurence Housman stands alone among modern illustrators, though one may, if one will, speak of him as representing the succession of the sixties, or as connected with the group of artists whose noteworthy development dates from the publication of 'The Dial' by Charles Ricketts and Charles Shannon in 1889. To look at Mr. Housman's art in either connection, or to record the effect of Dürer, of Blake, of Edward Calvert, on his technique, is only to come back to appreciation of all that is his own. As an illustrator he has hardly surpassed the spirit of the 'forty-four designs, drawn and written by Laurence Housman,'

that express his idea of George Meredith's 'Jump to Glory Jane' (1890). These designs were the result of the appreciation which the editor, Mr. Harry Quilter, felt for Mr. Housman's drawings to 'The Green Gaffer' in 'The Universal Review.' Jane — the village woman with 'wistful eyes in a touching but bony face,' leaping with countenance composed, arms and feet 'like those who hang,' leaping in crude expression of the unity of soul and body, making her converts, failing to move the bishop, dying at last, though not ingloriously, by the wayside—this most difficult conception has no 'burlesque outline' in Mr. Housman's work, inexperienced and unacademic as is the drawing.

'Weird Tales from Northern Seas,' by Jonas Lie, was the next book illustrated by Mr. Housman. Christina Rossetti's 'Goblin Market' (1893), offered greater scope for freakish imagination than did 'Jane.' The goblins, pale-eyed, mole and rat and weasel-faced; the sisters, whose simple life they surround with hideous fantasy, are realized in harmony with the unique effect of the poem—an effect of simplicity, of naïve imagination, of power, of things stranger than are told in the cry of the goblin merchants, as at evening time they invade quiet places to traffic with their evil fruits for the souls of maidens. The frail-bodied elves of 'The End of Elfin Town,' moving and sleeping among the white mushrooms and slender stalks of field flowers, are of another land than that of the goblin merchant-folk. Illustrations to 'The Imitation of Christ,' to 'The Sensitive Plant,' and drawings to

'The Were-Wolf,' by Miss Clemence Housman, complete the list of Mr. Housman's illustrations to writings not his own, with the exception of frontispiece drawings to several books.

To explain Mr. Housman's reading of 'The Sensitive Plant' would be as superfluous as it would be ineffectual. In a note on the illustrations he has told how the formal beauty, the exquisite ministrations, the sounds and fragrance and sweet winds of the garden enclosed, seem to him as 'a form of beauty that springs out of modes and fashions,' too graceful to endure. In his pictures he has realized the perfect ensemble of the garden, its sunny lawns and rose-trellises, its fountains, statues, and flower-sweet ways; the spirit of the Sensitive Plant, the lady of the garden, and Pan—Pan, the great god who never dies, who waits only without the garden, till in a little while he enters, 'effacing and replacing with his own image and superscription, the parenthetic grace . . . of the garden deity.' These drawings are very charming. Of a talent that treats always of enchanted places, where 'reality' is a long day's journey down a dusty road, it is difficult to speak without suggesting that it is all just a charming dalliance with pretty fancies, lacking strength. For the strength of Mr. Housman's imagination, however, his work speaks. His illustrations to his own writings, fairy tales, and poems, cannot with any force be discussed by themselves. The words belong to the pictures, the pictures to the words. The drawings to 'The Field of Clover' are seen to full advantage in the wood-engravings of Miss Housman. Only

so, or in reproduction by photogravure, is the full intention of Mr. Housman's pen-drawings apparent.

One may group the names of Charles Ricketts, C. H. Shannon, T. Sturge Moore, Lucien Pissarro, and Reginald Savage together in memory of 'The Dial,' where the activity of five original artists first became evident, though, save in the case of Mr. Ricketts and Mr. Shannon, no continuance of the classification is possible. The first number of 'The Dial,' 1889, had a cover design cut on wood by Mr. C. H. Shannon—afterwards replaced by the design of Mr. Ricketts. Twelve designs by Mr. Ricketts may be said to represent the transitional—or a transitional—phase of his art, from the earlier work in magazines, which he disregards, to the reticent expression of 'Vale Press' illustrations. In 1891 the first book decorated by these artists appeared, 'The House of Pomegranates,' by Oscar Wilde. There was, however, nothing in this book to suggest the form their joint talent was to take. Many delightful designs by Mr. Ricketts, somewhat marred by heaviness of line, and full-page illustrations by Mr. Shannon, printed in an almost invisible, nondescript colour, contained no suggestion of 'Daphnis and Chloe.'

The second 'Dial' (1892) contained Mr. Ricketts' first work as his own wood-engraver, and in the following year the result of eleven months' joint work by Mr. Ricketts and Mr. Shannon was shown in the publication of 'Daphnis and Chloe,' with thirty-seven woodcuts by the artists. Fifteen of the pictures were sketched by Mr. Shannon and revised and drawn on the wood by Mr. Ricketts,



BY LEAVE OF MESSRS. KEGAN PAUL.



BY LEAVE OF MESSRS. KEGAN PAUL.

who also engraved the initials. It is a complete achievement of individuality subordinated to an ideal. Here and there one can affirm that Mr. Shannon drew this figure, composed this scene, Mr. Ricketts that; but generally the hand is not to be known. The ideal of their inspiration—the immortal ‘Hypnerotomachia’—seems equally theirs, equally potent over their individuality. Speaking with diffidence, it would seem as though Mr. Shannon’s idea of the idyll were more naïve and humorous. Incidents beside the main theme of the pastoral loves of young Daphnis and Chloe—the household animals, other shepherds—are touched with humorous intent. Mr. Ricketts shows more suavity, and, as in the charming double-page design of the marriage feast, a more lyrical realization of delight and shepherd joys.

The ‘Hero and Leander’ of 1894 is a less elaborate, and, on the whole, a finer production. I must speak of the illustrations only, lest consideration of Vale Press achievements should fill the remaining space at my disposal. Obviously the attenuated type of these figures shows Mr. Ricketts’ ideal of the human form as a decoration for a page of type. The severe reticence he imposes on himself is in order to maintain the balance between illustrations and text. One has only to turn to illustrations to Lord de Tabley’s ‘Poems,’ published in 1893, to see with what eager imagination he realizes a subject, how strong a gift he has for dramatic expression. That a more persuasive beauty of form was once his wont, much of his early and transitional work attests. But I do

OF THE APPARITION OF THE THREE NYMPHS TO DAPHNE
IN A DREAM.



FROM MESSRS. RICKETTS AND SHANNON'S 'DAPHNIS AND CHLOE.'
(MATHEWS AND LANE.)

REPRODUCED BY THEIR LEAVE AND THE PUBLISHERS'.

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not think his power to achieve beauty need be defended. After the publication of 'Hero and Leander,' Mr. Shannon practically ceased wood-engraving for the illustration of books, though, as the series of roundel designs in the recent exhibi-



FROM MR. RICKETTS' 'CUPID AND PSYCHE.'

REPRODUCED BY HIS PERMISSION.

tion of his work proved, he has not abandoned nor ceased to go forward in the art.

'The Sphinx,' a poem by Oscar Wilde, 'built, decorated and bound' by Mr. Ricketts—but without woodcuts—was published in 1894, just after 'Hero and Leander,' and designs for a magnificent edition of 'The King's Quhair' were begun.

Some of these are in 'The Dial,' as also designs for William Adlington's translation of 'Cupide and Psyches' in 'The Pageant,' 'The Dial,' and 'The Magazine of Art.' The edition of the work published by the new Vale Press in 1897, is not that projected at this time. It contains roundel designs in place of the square designs first intended. These roundels are, I think, the finest achievement of Mr. Ricketts as an original wood-engraver. The engraving reproduced shows of what quality are both line and form, how successful is the placing of the figure within the circle. On the page they are what the artist would have them be. With the beginning of the sequence of later Vale Press books—books printed from founts designed by Mr. Ricketts—a consecutive account is impossible, but the frontispiece to the 'Milton' and the borders and initials designed by Mr. Ricketts, must be mentioned. As a designer of book-covers only one failure is set down to Mr. Ricketts, and that was ten years ago, in the cover to 'The House of Pomegranates.'

Mr. Reginald Savage's illustrations to some tales from Wagner by Mr. Farquharson Sharp lack the force of the 'Rhinoceros and Peacock' in 'The Pageant,' or of designs for 'The Ancient Mariner' and 'Sidonia the Sorceress.' Of M. Lucien Pissarro, in an article overcrowded with English illustrators, I cannot speak. His fame is in France as the forerunner of his art, and we in England know his coloured wood-engravings, his designs for 'The Book of Ruth and Esther' and for 'The Queen of the Fishes,' printed at his press at Epping, but included among Vale Press books.

'The Centaur,' 'The Bacchant,' 'The Metamorphoses of Pan,' 'Siegfried'—young Siegfried, wood-nurtured, untamed, setting his lusty strength against the strength of the brutes, hearing the bird-call then, and following the white bird to issues remote from savage life—these are subjects realized by the imagination of Mr. T. Sturge Moore.



FROM MR. STURGE MOORE'S 'THE CENTAUR.'

REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION OF MR. RICKETTS.

There is no artist illustrating books to-day whose work is more unified, imaginatively and technically. It is some years now since first Mr. Moore's wood-engravings attracted notice in 'The Dial' and 'The Pageant,' and the latest work from his graver—finer, more rhythmic in composition though it be—shows no change in ideals, in the direction of his powers. He has said, I think, that the easiest

line for the artist is the true basis of that artist's work, and it would seem as though much deliberation in finding that line for himself had preceded any of the work by which he is known. The wood-engraving of Mr. Sturge Moore is of considerable importance. Always the true understanding of his material, the unhesitating realization of his subject, combine to produce the effect of inevitable line and form, of an inevitable setting down of forms in expression of the thought within. Only that gives the idea of formality, and Mr. Moore's art handles the strong impulse of the wild creatures of earth, of the solitary creatures, mighty and terrible, haunting the desert places and fearing the order men make for safety. Designs to Wordsworth's 'Poems,' not yet published, represent with innate perception the earth-spirit as Wordsworth knew it, when the great mood of 'impassioned contemplation' came upon his careful spirit, when his heart leapt up, or when, wandering beneath the wind-driven clouds of March, at sight of daffodils, he lost his loneliness.

'The Evergreen,' that 'Northern Seasonal,' represented the pictorial outlook of an interesting group of artists—Robert Burns, Andrew K. Womrath, John Duncan, and James Cadenhead, for example—and the racial element, as well as their own individuality, distinguishes the work of Mr. W. B. Macdougall and Mr. J. J. Guthrie of 'The Elf.' Mr. Macdougall has been known as a book-illustrator since 1896, when 'The Book of Ruth,' with decorated borders showing the fertility of his designing power, and illustrations that were no less

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representative of a unique use of material, appeared. The conventionalized landscape backgrounds, the long, straightly-draped women, seemed strange enough as a reading of the Hebrew pastoral, with its close kinship to the natural life of the free children of earth. Their unimpassioned faces, unspontaneous gestures, the artificiality of the whole impression, were undoubtedly a new reading of the ancient charm of the story. Two books in 1897, and 'Isabella' and 'The Shadow of Love,' 1898, showed beyond doubt that the manner was not assumed, that it was the expression of Mr. Macdougall's sense of beauty. The decorations to 'Isabella' were more elaborate than to 'Ruth,' and inventive handling of natural forms was as marked. Again, the faces are decharacterized in accordance with the desire to make the whole figure the symbol of passion, and that without emphasis. Mr. J. J. Guthrie is hardly among book-illustrators, since 'Wedding Bells' of 1895 is not Mr. Guthrie, nor is the child's book of the following year, while the illustrations to Edgar Allan Poe's 'Poems' are still, I think, being issued from the Pear Tree Press in single numbers. His treatment of landscape is inventive, but his rhythmic arrangements, his effects of white line on black, are based on a real sense of the beauty of earth, of tall trees and wooded hills, of mysterious moon—brightness and shade in the leafy depths of the woodlands.

Mr. Granville Fell made his name known in 1896 by his illustrations to 'The Book of Job.' In careful detail, drawn with fidelity, never obtrusive, his art is pre-Raphaelite. He touches

Japanese ideals in the rendering of flower-growth and animals, but the whole effect of his decorative illustrations is far enough away from the art of Japan. In the 'Job' drawings he had a subject sufficient to dwarf a very vital imaginative sense by its grandeur. In the opinion of competent critics Mr. Granville Fell proved more than the technical distinction of his work by the manner in which he fulfilled his purpose. The solid black and white, the definite line of these drawings, were laid aside for the sympathetic medium of pencil in 'The Song of Solomon' (1897). Again, his conception is invariably dramatic, and never crudely dramatic, robust, with no trace of morbid or sentimental thought about it. The garden, the wealth of vineyard and of royal pleasure ground, is used as a background to comely and gracious figures. His other work, illustrative of children's books and of legend, the cover and title-page to Mr. W. B. Yeats's 'Poems,' show the same strong yet restrained imagination.

Mr. Patten Wilson is somewhat akin to Mr. Granville Fell in the energy and soundness of his conceptions. Each of these artists is, as we know, a colourist, delighting in brilliant and iridescent colour-schemes, yet in black and white they do not seek to suggest colour. Mr. Patten Wilson's illustrations to Coleridge's 'Poems' have the careful fulness of drawings well thought out, and worked upon with the whole idea definite in the imagination. He has observed life carefully for the purposes of his art. But it is rather in rendering the circumstance of poems, such as 'The Ancient

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Mariner,' or, in his Chaucer illustrations—Constance on the lonely ship—that he shows his grasp of the subject, than by any expression of the spiritual terror or loneliness of the one living man among the dead, the solitary woman on strange seas.

Few decorative artists express themselves habitually in 'wash' rather than by line. Among those who rarely use the pen Mr. Weguelin and Mr. W. E. F. Britten must be named. Mr. Weguelin has illustrated Anacreon in a manner to earn the appreciation of Greek scholars, and his illustrations to Hans Andersen have had a wider and not less appreciative reception. His drawings have movement and atmosphere. Mr. Britten illustrated poems on the months by Mr. Swinburne in the 'Magazine of Art' in 1892-3, and since that time his version of 'Undine,' and illustrations to Tennyson's 'Early Poems,' have shown the same power of graceful composition and sympathy with his subject.

R. E. D. SKETCHLEY.

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- The Turtle Dove's Nest.* 8°. (Routledge, 1890.) 87 illust. by Walter Crane, W. McConnell, Harrison Weir and other artists.
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A. GARTH JONES.

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FRED. MASON.

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HENRY OSPOVAT.

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Poems. Matthew Arnold. 8°. Edited by A. C. Benson. (Lane, 1900.) 16, and illustrative decorations.

CHARLES RICKETTS.

A House of Pomegranates. Oscar Wilde. 4°. (Osgood, McIlvaine, 1891.) 13 illust. by Charles Ricketts, 4 by C. H. Shannon.

Poems, Dramatic and Lyrical. Lord de Tabley. 8°. (Mathews and Lane, 1893.) 5.

Daphnis and Chloe. Longus. Translated by Geo. Thornley. 4°. (Mathews and Lane, 1893.) 37 woodcuts drawn on the wood by Charles Ricketts from the designs of Charles Ricketts and Charles Shannon. Engraved by both artists.

The Sphinx. Oscar Wilde. 4°. (Printed at the Ballantyne Press, 1894.) 9.

Hero and Leander. Christopher Marlowe and George Chapman. 8°. (Vale Press, 1894.) 7, designed and engraved on wood by Charles Ricketts and Charles Shannon.

Nymphidia and the Muses Elizium. Michael Drayton. 8°. (Vale Press, 1896.) Frontispiece engraved on wood.

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Milton's Early Poems. 8°. (Vale Press, 1896.) Frontispiece engraved on wood.

The Excellent Narration of the Marriage of Cupide and Psyche. Translated from the Latin of Lucius Apuleius, by William Adlington. 8°. (Vale Press, 1897.) 6 wood engravings.

The Book of Thel, Songs of Innocence and Songs of Experience. William Blake. 4°. (Vale Press, 1897.) Frontispiece, engraved on wood.

Blake's Poetical Sketches. 4°. (Vale Press, 1899.) Frontispiece engraved on wood.

HENRY RYLAND.

Holy Gladness. Words by Edward Oxenford and Music by Sir John Stainer. 4°. (Griffith, Farran, 1889.) 8 illust. in colour by Henry Ryland, and illust. by Louis Davis and others.

REGINALD SAVAGE.

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CHARLES SHANNON.

See *Charles Ricketts.*

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BYAM SHAW.

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Tales from Boccaccio. Joseph Jacobs. 4°. (George Allen, 1899.) 20.

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The Chiswick Shakespeare. 8°. (Bell, 1899, etc.) 6, and decorations in each volume.

BERNARD SLEIGH.

The Sea-King's Daughter, and other Poems. Amy Mark. Printed at the Press of the Birmingham Guild of Handicraft. (G. Napier, Birmingham. Tylston and Edwards, and A. P. Marston, London, 1895.) 4 illust. and 35 decorated pages, engraved by the designer and L. A. Talbot.

A Book of Pictured Carols. See *A. J. Gaskin.*

HEYWOOD SUMNER.

The Avon from Naxby to Tewkesbury. Fol. (Seeley, Jackson and Halliday, 1882.) 21 etchings.

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- Sintram and his Companions.* Translated from the German of De la Motte Fouqué. 4°. (Seeley, Jackson and Halliday, 1883.) Frontispiece and 21.
- The New Forest.* J. R. Wise. See *Walter Crane*.
- Undine.* 4°. (Chapman and Hall, 1888.) 16.
- The Besom Maker,* and other country Folk Songs. Collected by Heywood Sumner. 4°. (Longmans, 1888.) Frontispiece and 25 decorated pages, with text in artist's manuscript.
- Jacob and the Raven.* Frances M. Peard. 8°. (George Allen, 1896.) 15, and illustrative decorations.
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- Catullus: with the Pervigilium Veneris.* Edited by S. G. Owen. 8°. (Lawrence and Bullen, 1893.) 8.
- The Wooing of Malkatoon.* *Commodus.* Lewis Wallace. 8°. (Harper and Bros., 1898.) Illustrated by J. R. Weguelin and Du Mond. 6 to *Commodus* by J. R. Weguelin.
- PATTEN WILSON.
- Miracle Plays.* Our Lord's Coming and Childhood. Katherine Tynan Hinkson. 8°. (Lane, 1895.) 6 illust.
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- PAUL V. WOODROFFE.
- Songs from Shakespeare's Plays.* Edited by E. Rhys. 4°. (Aldine House, 1898.) 12 illust.
- The Little Flowers of St. Francis of Assisi.* 8°. (Kegan Paul, 1899.) 8.
- The Confessions of St. Augustine.* 8°. (Kegan Paul, 1900.) Title-page by Lawrence Housman, illus. by P. V. Woodroffe. Engraved upon wood by Miss Housman.

NOTES ON BOOKS AND WORK.



THE new volume of Mr. Slater's *Book-Prices Current*, which 'The Library' has received from Mr. Elliot Stock, is, as usual, full of interest. In the opinion of some good judges the drop of 13s. 3d. in the average price per lot realized in 1900 (£2 6s. 2d. as against £2 19s. 5d. in 1899) was due not so much to books of the same quality realizing smaller prices, as to would-be sellers of important books holding them back for better times. By the beginning of last season sellers and buyers had apparently ceased to concern themselves about such trifles as income tax, and the result of the holding back of the previous year is seen in a new record which is not likely to be broken very quickly. In 1900 only £87,929 was realized by 38,151 lots; in 1901, though the number of lots only increased to 38,377, the sums paid for them leapt up to £130,275, or an average of £3 7s. 10d. per lot, an increase of fourteen per cent. on the record of 1899, and of thirty-three on that of last year. Neither librarians nor collectors of moderate means can take much pleasure in this rapid advance, in so far as it means that higher prices are being paid for the same books. It seems to bring us nearer to the dread day when collecting will become fashionable with company

promoters as it once was with dukes, and the purchase of new tools and playthings be impossible for those who most care for them. Fortunately, in bookish matters, company promoters are not imaginative. They may follow a fashion, but they will never lead it. So the quiet bookman, who starts a new variety of the hobby, will always have his chance.

Mr. Slater's preface this year is unusually brief, but he notes the occurrence of an exceptional number of little known books, requiring special descriptions. As usual he reproduces some blunders of the original cataloguers which might easily have been corrected, the assignment, for instance, of a 'Vérard' to 1471, and the attribution of a book printed in 1491 to Ratdolt's press at Venice. Such mistakes, even were they more numerous than they are, might easily be forgiven; but our long-standing grievance that Mr. Slater in his index ignores some of the chief elements which give old books their value, remains still unredressed. Among the interesting bindings sold last year were an example of German silver-work (1918), a Grolier (1662), a Mearne (1192), an André Boule (732), and a couple of examples of the work of Roger Payne. But none of these binders are allowed a place in Mr. Slater's index. Reinforced at the end of the session by the Pirovano sale, the fifteenth century books were about up to the average both in number and interest, but Mr. Slater ignores their printers altogether. 'The Library' has protested so often against these omissions that it is proposed to print an index to the incunabula in our next

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number in the hope of persuading Mr. Slater to imitate it in future volumes. His work is so useful and so firmly established, that it is a pity it should continue to neglect obvious wants.

English library scholarship was enriched in November last by the publication of Mr. J. W. Clark's admirable monograph on *The Care of Books* (Cambridge University Press, 185.), and it is creditable to the book-buying public that already there is talk of a second edition. No librarian who is interested in the history of his craft, and no student of English monastic and college architecture can afford to leave this very thorough piece of work unread. Its sub-title, 'An Essay on the Development of Libraries and their Fittings, from the Earliest Times to the End of the Eighteenth Century,' fairly indicates its scope; but even this hardly prepares one for the admirable detail with which it is worked out. Mr. Clark has been indefatigable in visiting the old libraries of England and the Continent, and his book is crowded with illustrations of the utmost value, almost all of them specially made for his book. The great hall of the Vatican Library is shown as the best modern representative of the libraries of ancient times; the early monastic libraries are illustrated by numerous architectural plans, by a picture of a carrell from Gloucester Cathedral (with Mr. Clark reading in it), and by views of the Cathedral libraries at Lincoln, Salisbury, Noyon, Rouen; early fittings from the library of S. Walburga at Zutphen, Trinity Hall, and the University of Leyden, and several

pictures from manuscripts. For the later arrangements, when the low desks, on which books were laid on their sides, were replaced by tall book-cases, we have illustrations from Corpus Christi College and Merton, Oxford, from Durham Cathedral and the University Library, Cambridge. The different methods of chaining books is explained with a thoroughness which would have delighted Mr. Blades. For the third period of development, in which books instead of being placed at right angles to windows were ranged along the walls, we have pictures from the Escorial, where the system seems to have originated, from the Ambrosian library at Milan, from the Bibliothèque Mazarine at Paris, from Bodley and from Wren's libraries at Lincoln Cathedral, Trinity College, Cambridge, and St. Paul's Cathedral. Lastly, from the numerous illuminations in manuscripts of the fifteenth century showing authors at work in their studies or libraries, a judicious selection has been made, which sufficiently illustrates the great variety of reading-desks, book-trays, and other appliances by which scholars did their best to make themselves comfortable. To talk of Mr. Clark's illustrations instead of his text may seem a poor compliment, but those who know most of the history of libraries will recognize how well the examples here named cover the ground, and Mr. Clark has been indefatigable in explaining them in all their detail. Of the light which his work sheds on the progress of education, as testified by the increase of libraries and books, there is no room to speak here. His monograph well deserves the hearty welcome it

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has received, and is likely to remain the standard work on the subject for the rest of the century.

It is only possible this month to note that the second volume of M. Claudin's *Histoire de l'Imprimerie en France* has been issued to subscribers, and is as interesting and important as its predecessors. It may be hoped that the 'The Library' will give a full account of it next quarter. As a result of his studies for these two volumes M. Claudin has just issued a *Liste chronologique des Imprimeurs parisiens du quinzième siècle*. By a kind of heroic carelessness Madden was able to assert that sixty-six printers worked in Paris in the fifteenth century—a total obtained by reckoning the partners in firms individually, by including publishers who never printed at all, provincial printers who never printed at Paris, and sixteenth-century printers who did not print till after 1500. Critically tested his sixty-six Paris printers of the fifteenth century reduce themselves to thirty-nine. Mr. Proctor's investigations enabled him to raise this number to fifty-two, and to these M. Claudin has now added, Simon Bötticher, at the Collège de Narbonne (1481), Guillaume Prévost (1494), Robert Gourmont (1498), and Jean Mérausse and Narcisse Brun (1500), and some anonymous firms. On the strength of his total of sixty-one presses he claims that Paris was next to Venice the most important centre of printing in Europe during the fifteenth century. His list contains also the announcement of the discovery by M. Renouard, that the real name of the Jean du Pré, who stood so high

among the early Paris printers, was Jean Larcher, the Etienne Larcher of Nantes, to whom some of his types passed, being his brother.

Just as these notes are being sent to press there comes to hand a volume of *Selected Essays and Papers of Richard Copley Christie*, edited with a memoir by Dr. William Shaw (Longmans, 12s.). The book contains several of Mr. Christie's contributions to the 'Quarterly Review,' and other magazines, on the scholars of the Renaissance and kindred themes; his masterly article on the Chronology of the Early Aldines, from 'Bibliographica,' with papers on the 'Marquis de Morante and his library,' 'The Bignon Family, a dynasty of librarians,' 'Elzevier Bibliography,' and other bookish topics. Dr. Shaw's memoir is sympathetically written, and especially interesting for its account of Mr. Christie's work as Chancellor of the Diocese of Manchester, from which he took his familiar title. Mr. Cree contributes some notes on Mr. Christie's books, and a photograph is given of the library at Ribsden, together with a print of Mr. Christie's bookplate and two portraits, neither of them so pleasing as the painting by Mr. Kennington, from which a photogravure was given in 'The Library' for March, 1900.

ALFRED W. POLLARD.

AMERICAN NOTES.

American Library Association.

THE twenty-third meeting of the American Library Association at Waukesha, Wis., July 4th to 10th, recorded 460 delegates from thirty-four different States: 148 were men, 312 women; 174 were chief librarians, 167 assistants, 35 trustees or other officers. Actual attendance was much larger because many librarians and assistants in that section attended the meeting without joining and paying the \$2 fee. They were cordially welcomed, for the chief purpose of the A.L.A. is to advance library interests, not to swell its register or increase its income. The opinion now practically universal among the members was confirmed, that the most successful meetings must be held away from the distractions of cities. We come together chiefly to see each other. There is more pleasure and profit in meeting the old members in the same profession with many common interests, than in meeting the best city's choicest society for the first time. A round of social functions takes time and distracts attention from the main business, but we have learned that some of the most profitable hours are those spent together in walking, driving, or visiting some place of interest. The result is a practical decision that

meetings shall be held at some summer resort where there is ample and good accommodation for a large company and where both in sessions and social functions, in business and pleasure, the librarians will mingle with each other rather than with those whom most of them will never see again and with whom they have comparatively little in common. The system of state and club meetings has finally worked itself out very satisfactorily. At the close of the heavy year's work, at the natural time for rounding out the season, the A.L.A. holds the great annual meeting of the year. This comes just before the full season at the resorts, when everything is fresh and attractive. It is, of course, impossible to find accommodation for 500 people at one place in the height of the season and we must go there before the crowd or after. The state associations seem to have found the early fall, before the active year's work begins the best time for their annual meeting. In mid-winter the New York and other large city library clubs hold their chief meeting of the year with a cordial invitation to country members so to time their city visits, as to be present. And finally, along about Easter there are one or more meetings like that held for several years at Atlantic City, in which the librarians of a half dozen neighbouring cities join with the Pennsylvania and New Jersey library associations for three or four days, including one Sunday, at the seashore. With national and state associations, city clubs and some inter-state meetings, there is danger that even a good thing may be overdone. Librarians are as a rule much too

busy with their local work to attend too many meetings. The system which has worked itself out gives practically about once a quarter a chance to get fresh inspiration and enthusiasm from conference with one's fellows. For more than this there is hardly time.

New York (State) Library Association.—The newest and most successful form of meeting is that devised by the New York State Library Association two years ago, under the name 'Library Week,' by which is meant the annual meeting at Lake Placid in the 'heart of the Adirondacks,' one of the most famous places in America because of the peculiar tonic properties of the air, which is saturated with the odours of balsam and pine from the great wilderness of 4,000,000 acres. Under wise management the best results come from a permanent meeting place. Members know exactly where and how they are going, and their entertainers learn each year better how to care for them. Attendance, influence and satisfaction seem to result from selecting a permanent place for the annual gathering. The claims were presented for New York as the metropolis, for Albany as the capital, with the great work of the state library as the chief attraction, for Utica and Syracuse as central cities, for Niagara Falls and the Thousand Islands because of their scenic beauties. But the accessibility of Lake Placid to Canada and a half dozen adjoining states, the attractions of the Lake Placid Club, which offered its privileges, together with the co-operation of the railway in making the annual half rate ticket good for a month for those who wished to combine

a holiday with the meeting, resulted in a unanimous vote for Placid as the permanent meeting place. The association goes on Saturday, lives together at the Club till a week from the following Monday, holding from six to ten sessions during the time. Evenings are entirely given to general meetings; mornings and afternoons are given up to committees or sections, and to the informal intercourse which accomplishes as much good as set papers and discussions, and to social and outdoor life. Other meetings are announced when the weather is rainy; a whole week (instead of the usual two or three days), allowing ample time for both business and recreation. At the recent meeting fifteen different states besides Canada and Newfoundland were represented, and it was common comment with those who have been present that no meetings ever held have given more practical help. It is probable that some place will be selected in the west where another library week can be held for those who find the distance too great to reach Lake Placid.

Gifts.—There seems to be no limit to the growing generosity toward public libraries. The report to the A.L.A. at Waukesha showed 402 gifts, aggregating \$19,786,465.16. Of course the unparalleled gifts of Andrew Carnegie have greatly swelled this total, but it is clear that no movement has ever received so much approval and so little opposition as the persistent effort to provide the best reading for the largest number at the least cost by means of free public libraries.

Library Schools.—The library schools are growing

stronger and better year by year. In the parent school, that of New York State, of the 50 students this fall 49 are college bred, a record unprecedented where a college education is not an absolute requirement for admission. These represent the best universities and colleges of the country, and an increasing number of strong men each year shows that the profession is claiming the attention of the very best graduates of our best institutions.

The new summer library school, started this year at Chautauqua, was reported by Dr. Vincent to have made the most successful beginning of any of the scores of schools connected with that great work. Forty different pupils came from 20 different states and worked with great enthusiasm throughout the course. A novel and most satisfactory feature was the division of the work between Chautauqua and the James Prendergast Library, 20 miles away at the other end of the beautiful lake. Miss Mary Emogene Hazeltine, the librarian, is the resident director of the school, Mr. Melvil Dewey as director being able to spend only a limited time at Chautauqua. The class were furnished, without charge, with steamer tickets, so that on the days when they had their instruction at Jamestown, they had the morning's ride of 20 miles, with a return in time for supper at night. The success of the school of course insures its permanence.

The growing importance of the supervisory work in the library profession is evidenced by the decision of the New York State School, to offer special facilities to those who wish to train themselves for state or commission work, instead of

giving their time to a single library. The same thing is true in school work where the best teachers' colleges now offer courses designed for superintendents and inspectors instead of teachers.

Travelling Libraries.—The travelling library movement continually gains in extent and importance. Almost every mail brings inquiries to the New York State Library as to its method and larger, longer experience. To meet this demand, it has just issued 'Home Education, bulletin 40, on the Field and Future of Travelling Libraries,' by Melvil Dewey, in which a score or more of its modern applications are briefly treated, and a 'Summary of Travelling Library Systems,' by Myrtilla Avery, giving the full details of the New York system, with reproductions of its blanks and forms, and notes on all other systems of which they have record. This bulletin of 155 pages is sent post paid at 25 cents, and is the most comprehensive treatment of this subject that has yet appeared.

Library Institutes.—At the recent annual meeting of the New York Library Association, held each year during the last full week of September at the Lake Placid Club in the Adirondacks, the most important action was the decision to divide the state into six to ten library districts, in each of which should be held, under the auspices of the association, a conference or institute for librarians and assistants of that district. In opening the discussion, Melvil Dewey, director of the New York State Library, said:

The establishment of the library institute will

mark a distinct new era in library development. The animal with its power of locomotion is an infinitely higher organization than the vegetable, which cannot travel. The marvellous development of modern civilization is largely dependent on quick and inexpensive means of communication. Our table at every meal draws on the most distant parts of the globe for contributions. Almost everything is mobilized, and travels far and near before it has fully performed its function.

The greatest step in the history of education and of civilization was the invention of printing, which gave us the travelling book. Till that time a volume was as costly as a village, and, chained to its shelf or pillar, was consulted only with infinite labour and expense, the poor scholar often walking for days to get access to the wisdom locked up in its precious pages. With the marvellous cheapness of duplication brought about by printing, the travelling book revolutionized education. Then followed gradual development through centuries up to the remarkable work of the last decade, done through travelling libraries. The money spent on these collections of books moving about from place to place has accomplished more good than the same amount used in any other way. Few realize how rapidly this new idea has spread, and how many successful applications of the principle are being made. We have now in the press a volume of nearly 200 pages on the field and future of travelling libraries, with a summary of the New York and other systems, so far as we were able to get authoritative information. This volume is de-

signed to give needed information to the many inquirers in every state and country who have heard of the wonderful work accomplished by this new agency, which is still only at the beginning of its possibilities.

The travelling book and the travelling library have paved the way for the third step, the travelling librarian. Great service can be rendered by a single librarian; but as with the chained books of the middle ages and the old libraries from whose doors no volume emerged, so those who would benefit from the librarian must go to him. We have now fairly started the new idea of the peripatetic librarian who shall for a short time carry his skill, advice, and sympathy to the small local library; to the study, club, or school, or wherever there is a company of those needing his services, and yet unable to leave their homes and their work to reach his official headquarters. We call him a library inspector. To do this work well requires special gifts possessed by few; but I can hardly think of any field of greater usefulness for one whose temper, taste, and training fit him for it. We have profound respect for the great opportunity for usefulness before the modern librarian, but one who can go from place to place, and in a hundred localities sow seed which will bring forth intellectual fruit is raising himself to the second power, and doing a work greater by far than is vouchsafed to those of us who stay at home.

The next great institution to be mobilized is the library school. This is a new factor. Eighteen years ago this summer I submitted to the national

library meeting in Buffalo the proposal to open such a school at Columbia. Four years later the first class was admitted. We planned for only ten, and for a few weeks' course. Double the number came and unanimously requested that the length of course be doubled. At the end of the first year it was clear that a permanent and important new professional school had been founded. In fifteen years our students have gone to 791 different positions, in almost forty different states and a half dozen foreign countries. Several other schools have been established by them, and not only librarians and educators, but the general public have accepted without question the new method of preparation for librarianship, for we have proved that by it much better results can be obtained with a given expenditure of time and money. In a period of five years we had over 1,600 preliminary applications from those who at least thought they wished to take the course. Our limitations of space allowed us to accept on an average only one out of twenty, a record we have never known equalled by any professional school.

It was clear that there were hundreds of librarians and assistants in the country anxious to make their services more efficient in promoting the public welfare through libraries, but unable to give either the time or money for this two years' course. For them the summer library school has been devised and offers in its six weeks' course such assistance and direction as is practicable in so short a time. We closed the other day the first session of the summer library school at Chautauqua, of which I

have been general director, while the chief burden has fallen on Miss Hazeltine, of Jamestown, as resident director. Our experience was significant. Texas, Montana, Florida, and eighteen other states sent over forty pupils, or double the number expected. Some gave their own time, paid their own expenses, and rode for four nights in their eagerness to get the assistance offered. The enthusiasm and earnestness was marked, and Dr. Vincent and the Chautauqua officials assure us that of the scores of schools and classes established in connection with their marvellous institution, none has started with so great promise as this year's class library school; and yet, we who know most of the good it did, expect to double that usefulness.

But there are many earnest workers who cannot at present afford even the time and expense for the six weeks' summer course. We are doing what we can by correspondence, to help them, guide their reading, solve their difficulties, and encourage them to look forward to actual residence in one of the well-equipped schools. But the demand immediately before us is to mobilize this library instruction. Mahomet must go to the mountain. We can learn much from the experience of the public school system, for the library movement, curiously, is duplicating in many respects the steps by which the schools grew into the great system which has become so much a part of our life that it is difficult for this generation to conceive of a civilized community without a public school. Yet I know men who in their younger years were active members of the public school society in New York,

which did just such missionary work as we and other library associations are doing to-day in educating the public to a fuller appreciation of the value of schools and of their claim for public support. My dear old friend, Henry Barnard, who died the other day in Hartford, has told me often how in his early manhood he visited the legislatures of twenty-seven different states, and urged upon them the establishment of school systems at public expense, because of the good that would come to the community at large. This seems as strange to us as would an argument that we should have post offices, or drainage in cities, or highways maintained at public cost. We in the library world are now traversing the same path, by the same steps, but with much greater rapidity, for the success of the school experiment has made it vastly easier to convince the public that a free library system pays. Our travelling library school idea corresponds to the teachers' institute, and I can thus far find no better name for it than library institute. Long study has evolved a plan that gives admirable practical results, and we can modify and adapt that plan as experience dictates in reaching our scattered librarians with that information and inspiration which can be given only by personal contact.

Let us consider a few specific points.

As to frequency: once a year in each district is probably as often as we can wisely get together.

As to length of sessions: we must content ourselves with a single week, and probably, in many cases, shall have to pave the way with conferences

of only two or three days; but when we call it a library institute, it implies, at least, a small faculty and a definite course of instruction, and anything less than a week will hardly merit a name dignified by so much good work. Our library workers can not be absent very long from their regular duties, but obviously it would be easier to spare them from the libraries than the teachers from the schools. Very likely we shall have to repeat the school experience, and when our institutes are fully established and under state supervision, the legislature will apply the school institute law which requires every teacher, unless prevented by illness, to be present at the institute held in his locality each year, and compels his trustees to pay the full salary during institute week. This is obviously just, for if such attendance makes his services much more valuable to the public, it is only fair that it should be as a part of his official duties.

As to place: we must select centres where from twenty to one hundred librarians, assistants, trustees, and others specially interested in library work can be brought together most quickly and cheaply. Transportation is now so simplified, and librarians are so much less numerous than teachers, that in our state six well-chosen centres would be better than the sixty involved in having an institute in each county.

As to work to be done, we must feel our way, but certain things are reasonably clear. We must put into our brief sessions whatever is found practically most helpful, not only in cataloguing and classification, and in bibliography and reference

work, but also in all the hundred details connected with daily administration.

As to instructors: the first need is to develop an institute faculty. Here, as elsewhere, no excellence of idea or perfection of organization will give the best results unless we have behind it all an earnest human soul, with not only a desire to help, but with a rare capacity for giving both instruction and inspiration. Many librarians, very successful in their own local work, would have but a limited value on an institute faculty. Many great scholars are poor teachers. Not one in a thousand has a genius for this special work. When we find a man or woman whom nature has specially fitted for these duties he is too valuable to be employed in regular library duties. We can find a hundred people who can carry on a local library where we can find one ideal institute instructor. Our faculty must, therefore, be not merely some successful librarians of the district in which the institute is held, but it should be made up of a few with genius for this work, selected from the whole state or country, and this faculty should go, week after week, to new localities, carrying not only its peculiar personal gifts, but also the unequalled experience to be gained only in meeting manifold library difficulties and problems, week after week, and broadening the knowledge of how practical help can best be given. If we require six districts this means six weeks for our own state. A half dozen states could unite in organizing and maintaining a faculty better than any one state could hope to do alone, and by giving a week to each district

each year this faculty would be able to meet the wants of all the co-operating states.

It should be the work of New York to pioneer this movement. When we have a faculty and course in successful operation the idea will spread from state to state, and grow with the demand till it reaches from the Atlantic to the Pacific. Till we can secure endowments, which ought to be forthcoming for work of so great practical value, we cannot offer large salaries to the men and women we most want to conduct these institutes. But those best fitted for this peculiar work must of necessity have in their nature enough of the missionary spirit, so that they will count quite as valuable as the returns in bankable funds, the larger returns in the pleasure of serving one's fellows, in feeling that they have raised themselves to the second power and multiplied their usefulness according to the number of library workers, who, because of their instruction and inspiring friendship are doing better work, each in his local field.

It is probably better that the initiative be taken by this voluntary Association ; but, as in the school, when we have shown the public that the idea is practical and profitable, there will be no difficulty in meeting necessary expenses from the public funds. The sums appropriated annually for education are almost incredible, and yet for no other purpose is money granted with so little opposition. If we ask the public to support an experiment we are apt to be denied. But, as a labour of love, those of us who have given our lives to what we believe the most

practically useful profession can well afford for a few years to give thought and labour to launching the next important factor in educational development, the library institute. It was just twenty-five years ago that a hundred of us at the Philadelphia Centennial began active efforts in what we fondly termed the modern library movement. During this quarter century we have been growing steadily stronger, our work has grown broader, the demand of the public is yearly greater. Had any one of us dared prophesy in 1876 that more than \$15,000,000 would have been given the past year for libraries in addition to the vast sums from the public purse, and that a single city would begin building no less than sixty-five branch libraries, he would have been laughed at as a dreamer. But we have waited patiently for this day. The time is ripe and we ought to act. Let us remember the practical wisdom embodied in the Fabian Society motto: "For the right moment you must wait most patiently as Fabius did when warring against Hannibal, though many censured his delays. But when the right moment comes you must strike hard, as Fabius did, else your waiting will have been in vain and fruitless."

